The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XIX. *January, 1913.* *No. 1.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

PUBLISHED BY

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS,
BALTIMORE.

The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XIX. *January, 1913.* *No. 1.*

CONSTANTINE'S EDICT OF TOLERATION.

Early this year there will be celebrated the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of the promulgation of an edict in the city of Milan bearing the names of the Emperors Constantine and Licinius, by which a formal and definite check was placed on the pursuit of the followers of Christ by Roman imperial officials. This decree is usually referred to as Constantine's "Edict of Toleration," because the credit of publishing it must be assigned to him rather than to his colleague. The changed status of the Christians, which it established, is called the "Peace of the Church." If the Edict of Milan dealt merely with a religious dispute between the Roman imperial administration and a body of worshippers within the Empire, it would long since have lost interest and significance; but it involved a question of political theory and constitutional forms which affects all forms of social organization. With the publication of this Edict the human race for the first time in its history had a formal official pronouncement from a constituted political authority of freedom of conscience. Such a pronouncement was revolutionary. It contained the germ of all subsequent progress. Hence its interest for humanity at large. As the credit for having secured this change belongs to the Christian church it is eminently proper that the sixteenth centenary of the event should not be allowed to pass unnoticed.

On January twenty-fourth of last year, His Holiness Pius X

in a letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State appointed a Supreme Council under the active presidency of H. Exc. Prince D. Mario Chigi, and of which the eminent archaeologist and historian Prof. Orazio Marucchi is Secretary, to take the necessary steps for the due and fitting commemoration of this portentous event. As outlined in a circular of March first, 1912, the program of the Supreme Council is as follows.

"1. The erection of a sacred monument near the Milvian Bridge, where the Emperor Constantine defeated Maxentius, which will serve as a memorial of glorious deeds to future generations, and at the same time minister to the spiritual needs of the population in that new quarter.

"2. The promotion in Italy and elsewhere of solemn acts of thanksgiving to God, and of special festivities, together with publications, learned as well as popular, so that all may know the importance of the great religious and historical fact that is being commemorated.

"All Catholics, therefore, are invited to take part in this celebration, through the constitution of local committees under the direction of their Bishops and in touch with the Supreme Council of Rome, so that everywhere there may be a common commemoration of so great an event in the manner best suited to each individual place."

Vital interest attaches to the celebration this year and in this century because the point at issue in the decree of Constantine is again waiting for adjudication and because the parties to the suit are the same. Now as then the paramount subject of political discussion is that regarding the extent and limits of state or social control, and now as then the question at stake is whether the individual shall be absorbed in the social organization, and which of two essentially opposite views of human life, the collectivist or the individualist, the secularist or the Christian, shall prevail. Constantine merely gave the Christians the right to be Christians without molestation, but the act by which this right was conferred involved the acknowledgment of a principle which gives to the Edict of Toleration the significance of a social revolution. In order to understand the magnitude of the victory won by the Church,

it will be necessary to trace the course which the conflict between the Christian religion and the pagan Roman state had followed for nearly three centuries, and to take into account the circumstances which made it possible for one man to bring about such a sweeping social and political change.

Looking at the Edict of Milan merely as an act intended to regulate the relations of church and state it may be considered the termination of a bitter warfare which had been carried on, though not continuously, since the establishment of the Christian religion. The causes of this conflict are to be found in the essential opposition between Christianity and the prevailing views of human life. When Christianity was first preached human thought and conduct were colored by a system of belief to which, for want of a better, the name paganism may be applied. As the Christian religion touches human life at all points, it necessarily came into contact and conflict with paganism. In this conflict organized society or the state was on the side of paganism; for, because of the collectivist character of ancient civilization, all human effort culminated in the social group whether despotic, republican, oligarchic or imperial. Thus paganism or the pagan state, a collectivist social organization with national deities, was directly at variance with the Christian view of individual worth and responsibility, with Christian universalism or charity, and its exclusiveness in repelling all other forms of belief and worship. In addition the Christians possessed an exalted moral code which revolted against the general corruption and licentiousness, the disintegration of family life, social injustice and oppression. Thus as a working theory of human relations no compromise or agreement was possible between the œcumenical view of life found in Christian doctrines, practices and philosophy of history, and the constricted nationalism of pagan religions, the cruel and despotic absolutism of the pagan state and the narrow and oppressive intolerance and egotism of its philosophy.

There are three well-marked stages in the history of this conflict between Christianity and paganism as represented by the imperial Roman government. In the first, which lasted

down through the reigns of the Emperors of the Flavian dynasty, the Christians were looked on as constituting a schismatic Jewish sect too insignificant to cause any apprehension in the official mind. The traditional hatred for the Jews and the newly born distrust of the Christians originating principally in economic motives, received point and direction in the dastardly and murderous assault made on the Christian community in Rome by the Emperor Nero in the year sixty-four. Even though public opinion in Rome revolted against the cruelties of Nero, his action formed a sufficient basis for any proceedings which provincial governors in other parts of the Empire might choose to institute against the followers of Christ. They were henceforth a proscribed race.

The next stage commenced in the reign of the Emperor Trajan. A well-meaning dilettante, Pliny the Younger, was made provincial governor in Bithynia-Pontus. With the instinct of the courtier and the literary fop he obtained permission from his imperial patron to consult him when difficulties arose in his administration. Pliny wrote many letters. In one of them he called attention to the difficulty he had experienced in dealing with the cases of Christians who were brought before him and who were very numerous in his jurisdiction. He made a very thorough presentation of the case, outlined the procedure which he had followed, and begged for instruction from the Emperor for his future guidance. The answer, in the form of a Rescript, was concise and to the point. The Emperor decided that anybody might charge another with being a Christian, and if the charge was proved, the accused, unless he recanted, was to be put to death. This Rescript settled definitely the mode of procedure for the whole Empire. It made the mere profession (solum nomen) of the Christian religion a statutory offence. Its rigor was, however, somewhat softened by the restriction that the officials themselves were not to hunt the Christians down. This provision seems to have been revoked by Marcus Aurelius in whose reign a systematic effort was made to arrest and punish them. Thus during the second and down to the middle of the third century a Christian had no standing before the law.

He might at any time be dragged before a magistrate, and if he refused to offer sacrifice to the pagan deities, he incurred the death penalty.

The Christian apologists in a series of appeals which appeared at different intervals in this period, protested against this anomalous and cruel position. They begged that the crime for which they were made to suffer should be defined. It is probable, however, that no man in the Empire could have defined that crime, though no Roman official could have failed to realize the incongruity between the assumptions on which his position rested and the religion of those whom he sentenced. In the case of some Emperors and many governors persecution ceased no doubt because no motive could be found for its continuance. Alexander Severus was eclectic enough to place a statue of Christ in his private oratory. What is notable, however, in all this period is that while the Christian religion was looked on as being utterly at variance with paganism, and its profession as being incompatible with patriotism, all official action was directed against individuals and not against the church.

Side by side, however, with the political attacks on the Christians there went on a literary propaganda in which the origin, nature and purposes of the Christian religion were submitted to the most searching and hostile criticism. All its claims were discussed and set forth in a manner to terrify good pagans. In its whole history the Christian Church has never had a set of opponents who assaulted it more bitterly nor presented the grounds for their opposition more forcefully than those whose activity falls in the period between the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Diocletian.

These assaults bore fruit. Fanaticism was aroused. In the year two hundred and forty-nine the legions in Pannonia raised to the purple a man who was qualified by habit and temperament to turn the teaching of the philosophers and the passions of the mob into a systematic campaign of annihilation. The Emperor Decius, a provincial by birth, had been trained in the army, a school not yet affected by the cosmopolitanism of

the capital nor the scepticism of its fashionable circles. He was a bitter pagan. Two purposes filled his short reign,—to crush the enemies of Rome, and to restore ancient Roman discipline and morals. To effect this latter purpose nothing less than the extirpation of Christianity would suffice. An Edict was issued a few months after his accession, which embodied his schemes. It ordered that all Christians should be compelled to apostatize by performing some act of pagan worship. The enforcement of this edict was mandatory on all Roman magistrates in all parts of the Empire, and removed from them the discretion which they had hitherto exercised in their dealings with the Christians. Even the method of procedure was carefully defined. A day was fixed on which all who were suspected were summoned before the magistrates. Those who remained firm were made to feel the extremes of suffering. Decius died in a little over a year after he had issued this decree. His death brought the Christians a short respite. No Emperor had so far inflicted such sufferings on the Christians as he had; but the point of greatest significance in his dealings with them was, that he opened another stage in the relations between Church and State, from which there was no possibility of receding except by the annihilation or radical change of one or the other. Christianity and the pagan Roman state were declared to be mutually exclusive, essentially and inherently hostile. This Decius inscribed on the statute books, and this became the settled policy of his successors.

If there were breaks in the compaign of extermination inaugurated by Decius, it was through no lack of good will on the part of his successors. The only one of these who showed any disinclination to be the heir of the anti-Christian projects of Decius was the cynical Gallienus, and the only one between Gallienus and Diocletian who had the power to execute them was Aurelian. Death alone saved him from emulating the father of the policy. The issue was well-defined, but dynastic changes, constant wars and the confusion and disorder incident to wide-spread plagues and famines during the greater part of

the third century, made it impossible to urge the question to a final settlement.

Conditions changed with the accession of the Emperor Diocletian (284). Peace and order were restored, government resumed its regular functions, and the ravages of nearly half a century of anarchy and disorder were gradually repaired. Persecution of the Christians did not commence immediately: but it could not be long deferred nor obviated.

Diocletian ascended the throne with a well-defined policy adapted to the needs of the Empire. He was preëminently a reformer, and he impressed his purposes on all departments of public life. His most notable innovation was the division of the Empire, for administrative purposes, into two sections, and the choice of a colleague Maximian, first as Cæsar (285), then as Augustus (286), to whom was committed the Western portion of the State. This partition of power while maintaining unity of government was still further elaborated when two Cæsars were chosen (293), to share the burdens and inherit the dignities of the Augusti. Constantius Chlorus was assigned to Maximian and Galerius retained in the East. This scheme effectually ended the long-standing rivalry between the military and the senatorial factions which had been a prolific source of disorder for nearly a century. The project of satisfying the pretensions of both parties, by having an Emperor in Rome and one on the frontiers, which had been mooted at an earlier date had not proved feasible. Diocletian settled the difficulty by a plurality of rulers thus preventing any military assassin from removing the head of the State and at the same time deprived Rome of its position as capital by setting up four new capitals in Nicomedia, Sirmium, Milan and Trier.

Almost twenty years elapsed before Diocletian took up the case of the Christians. His reluctance to do so can be explained on various grounds. He was more Oriental than Roman in his schemes and sympathies, and perhaps did not consider himself bound to pursue the policy of his predecessors nor to imitate their methods. Practical considerations may have

convinced him that Christianity could no longer be dealt with in the old way. A long period of peace had just passed in which the number of the Christians had increased enormously, and it was in the provinces where Diocletian had fixed his capital that they were most numerous. "In Phrygia, Bithynia, and Pontus there were districts which by this time were practically Christian all over; also there were now towns and villages which contained but few or no pagans." It is impossible to state what percentage of the entire population was Christian; but there were provinces "(1. All that constitutes our Modern Asia Minor; 2. All that portion of Thrace which lay over against Bithynia; 3. Armenia; 4. Edessa), in which Christianity numbered nearly one-half of the population, and represented the most widely spread or even standard religion." Other places—"Antioch and Coele-Syria, Cyprus, Alexandria, together with Egypt and the Thebais, Rome, Lower Italy and certain portions of Middle Italy, Africa Proconsularis and Numidia, Spain, Southern Gaul, Greece and Macedonia, in which Christianity formed a very material portion of the population, influencing the leading classes and the general culture of the people, and being capable of holding its own with other religions.[1]" In other portions of the Empire, Christianity was more sparsely scattered, but its adherents were found everywhere in the Roman dominions "and behind the tiniest isolated church stood the Church collective, and this, so far from being a fanciful idea, was a magnitude supremely real." [2]

This rapid diffusion of Christianity created a critical situation for the adherents of paganism and the upholders of the old Roman ideas of State. Paganism was disintegrating under the solvent influence of Christian ideas, and the alternative was offered of allowing the transformation to go on and have the State become Christian by the Christian method of "conversion" or to restore paganism by the pagan method "coercion."

Paganism died hard. Never did it find voice in a more

[1] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. II, p. 457, seq.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 465.

potent appeal to patriotic fanaticism than in the Neo-Platonic system, which in its religious aspect, "was an attempt to restore and regenerate paganism by means of philosophy." Never did it express its hatred of Christianity more violently than at this time in the pages of Hierocles and Porphyry. These men were but types. The animosity and intolerance to which they gave expression were equally potent in other quarters. Wherever possible they harassed and annoyed the Christians. In the army pagan officers insisted that the Christian soldiers should take part in idolatrous rites. Some revolted rather than comply. At the court a powerful cabal was formed under the leadership of Galerius. His mother protested because the Christian officers and soldiers would not attend her pagan festivals. The Haruspices complained that the omens failed because of the presence of Christian officers at the divination ceremonies. Diocletian was thoroughly aroused. He ordered all the members of his suite, and his whole household to offer sacrifice under penalty of scourging. Letters were sent to the military commanders ordering them to compel the soldiers to do likewise. These measures were too mild to suit the implacable Galerius. He visited Diocletian in Nicomedia in the winter of 302 to urge him to take a harsher course. The old Emperor was deaf to his importunities for a long time alleging "that it would be pernicious to raise disturbances throughout the world and to shed so much blood: that the Christians were wont to meet death with eagerness: and that it would be enough to exclude persons of that religion from the court and the army." [3]

Galerius persisted. A council of imperial officials, civil and military was summoned. All shared the views of Galerius but their pleas failed to move Diocletian to take harsher methods. He would not shoulder the responsibility for a war of extermination. His scruples were finally overcome by the ingenious device of making him appear not as the author, but as the instrument of the vengeance of the gods. Messengers were sent to consult the Oracle of Apollo at Miletus, and the reply was,

[3] Lactantius, *De Mor. Per.*, Chap. x.

no doubt such as Galerius had provided for. An answer purporting to come, not from the priestess, but from the god himself, announced that if the Christians "the righteous ones" were permitted to exist, the oracles would henceforward be silent. This was final. Diocletian consented to the persecution, but he adopted a middle course. He aimed at the extinction of the Christian religion without bloodshed.

The first step was taken early in the morning of February 23rd, 303, the feast of the Terminalia. A body of police officials, under the command of the Prefect, was sent to the great Cathedral of Nicomedia, which was in plain view of the palace. While Diocletian and Galerius watched the proceedings the Church was entered, and the sacred books and utensils and all the furniture seized and burned. Galerius wished to commit the whole edifice to the flames. Diocletian fearing a general conflagration, had it razed to the ground.

A general Edict was published on the following day. It ordered that all the Christian churches should be demolished, all the sacred books burned, and that the Christians should forfeit all civil rights. Furthermore that no Christian slave should enjoy the right of emancipation.

As might be expected these terms did not suit Galerius. He used all the means at his disposal to induce the Emperor to adopt harsher measures. The ill-considered action of a Christian, in tearing down the Edict, which he subsequently expiated in the flames, gave color to the accusations which were cast on the Christians a few days later as being the authors of two mysterious fires which broke out in the palace. Galerius left Nicomedia in a hurry, saying he did not wish to be burned alive. Diocletian was now thoroughly aroused. He ordered the Christians of his own household, among them his wife and daughter to offer sacrifice under penalty of death. The clergy and congregation in Nicomedia were next attacked and those who refused to worship the pagan gods were burned at the stake, drowned, or shut up in the dungeons. A second Edict was published ordering the summary arrest of the bishops, priests, deacons, lectors and exorcists throughout the Empire,

who were to be incarcerated without the usual privilege of gaining their freedom by apostasy. These cruel measures were promptly enforced everywhere, except in Gaul and Britain, where the Cæsar, Constantius Chlorus, contented himself with destroying the churches while sparing the persons of the Christians.

In the course of the same year Diocletian commenced the celebration of his Vicennalia or twentieth anniversary of his accession. The prisons were filled with the Christian clergy. It was customary, on such joyous occasions, to issue a general amnesty. Diocletian did not depart from the custom, but in order that the Christians might not escape, he published another Edict in which he ordered that they were to be liberated if they offered sacrifice, and tortured if they refused.

The apparent moderation of these Edicts did not save the great mass of the Christians from the most atrocious sufferings, and they show that Diocletian having once engaged in a campaign of oppression was ready to proceed to harsher measures, if mild ones failed. An easy means of recantation was offered to the Christians, but as they had now no civil rights any opposition on their part exposed them to the full fury of their oppressors. Diocletian, Maximian, and of course, Galerius enforced the law with indiscriminate ferocity. Constantinus Chlorus still acted with mildness and moderation. He is said to have shown more consideration to those who refused to sacrifice than to those who yielded.

A severe illness which Diocletian contracted while on a journey from Rome to Ravenna in the winter of 303, so seriously threatened his life after his return to Nicomedia, that he was unable for a long time to take any part in public affairs. While he was in this condition Galerius procured the publication of another Edict, which from the point of view of Roman official despotism, left nothing to be desired. In substance it ran:—be a pagan or die. None were spared. Except in the West a thorough war of extermination was commenced, and lest any of the faithful should escape, such methods as consecrating all the food in the markets to the gods, of allowing no business

to be transacted and no water to be taken from the public fountains without a preliminary act of idolatry, were resorted to. All the constitutional guarantees were suspended and all the machinery of government set in motion to exterminate the followers of Christ. They were hunted like wild beasts, and it was no unusual sight to have groups of ten, twenty, thirty, forty or even a hundred put to death at the same time. All the inhabitants of a city in Phrygia were slaughtered in one day because they were Christians. The constancy of the martyrs is hardly less astounding than the ferocity and persistence of their enemies.

Galerius had other ambitions than the restoration of paganism, and though for a long time he had been the real ruler, he coveted the form as well as the substance, and in March, 305, the two Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian were persuaded to retire. Constantius Chlorus and Galerius took their places, and the latter without consulting his colleague and against the advice of Diocletian appointed as Cæsars a drunken soldier named Severus who was sent to the West, and an ignorant barbarian Daja who was Romanized by the addition of Maximinus to his name, who was sent to the East. A fresh division of the Empire was made, by which the territory of Galerius was considerably enlarged, and by which Spain was added to the dominions of Constantius Chlorus.

Galerius, however, had overshot the mark by forgetting the claims of heredity. Though he and Diocletian had no legitimate male heirs, Constantius and Maximian had sons, Constantine and Maxentius, who were both ambitious and capable. Constantine was thirty-one when Diocletian abdicated. He had spent twelve years at the court of Nicomedia as a hostage. After repeated requests Galerius gave him permission to return to his father, but Constantine thought it safer to start before the time appointed and to maim the post-horses on the route he followed in his flight. He joined his father in Boulogne and embarked with him for Britain, and on the death of Constantius, July 25, 306, was acclaimed Augustus by his father's troops. About the same time Maxentius, the son of Maximian,

assumed the purple in Rome, and in a short time gave evidence of his capabilities by corrupting the army of Severus who had been sent against him and who, by desertion, reduced their leader to the extremity of committing suicide. These soldiers had formerly been commanded by Maximian, who now left his retirement and presented himself again as Augustus. Galerius would have avenged the death of Severus but could not count on the loyalty of his troops. Maximian, who had joined forces with his son, Maxentius, soon quarrelled with him and proceeded to Gaul where he joined Constantine, to whom he gave his daughter, Fausta, in marriage. In the following year another Augustus appeared in the person of Licinius, who was chosen by Galerius and who thus brought the number of rulers in the Empire up to six.

These dynastic quarrels were not without a profound influence on the condition of the Church. Constantine, who governed Britain, Gaul and Spain, was even more tolerant than his father had been and under him the Christians enjoyed comparative peace. Severus had neither time nor opportunity to enforce the Edicts in Italy and Africa, over which he held sway, and Maxentius was less cruel than might be expected from one of his licentious and corrupt nature.

In the Orient, meanwhile, conditions were growing worse from day to day. The check to the plans and ambitions of Galerius in the West seems to have urged him to greater cruelties. But even the persecutors at times seemed to grow tired of their grewsome task. They paused occasionally, or adopted new methods only, however, to return to the old with increased ferocity. Fresh Edicts were issued, urging the magistrates to greater activity or cruelty. In 307 a systematic search was made for all the followers of Christ. Officers were sent to track them down and drag them to the temples. Even death was not considered to have sufficient terror and in the last years of Galerius, penal servitude was resorted to, as being more severe. Before being sent on their way, the condemned had to endure the frightful torture of having the right eye torn from its socket, and of being maimed by cauterizing the tendons

of the left leg. Those who could not sustain the long march to the quarries or the mines in the Thebais, Cilicia, Palestine or Cyprus, were beheaded. It might seem as if diabolical cruelty had exhausted all its resources and yet a fresh Edict appeared in 308, "which," as Mason says, "began a perfect réign of terror, not to be concluded till two full years had elapsed. These two years were the most prolific of bloodshed of any in the whole history of Roman persecutions." In this last phase in addition to oppression of the Christians, an effort was made to restore paganism. The temples were rebuilt and the cult and ceremonies of paganism were resumed. A network of traps and restrictions was prepared for the Christians, so that even the performance of the ordinary duties of life was interdicted, except by being guilty of some act of idolatry.

Christian bravery proved superior to anything paganism could devise. It is not surprising that having suffered and endured for God's sake, that His persecuted followers saw divine intervention in the manner in which their trials ceased. Early in 310 Galerius was seized with that frightful malady which has been called the disease of the persecutors. Gangrenous abscesses of the abdomen and intestines reduced him to a loathsome condition so repulsive that fear of death alone induced the pagan physicians to minister to him. They failed to bring him relief and he turned to the gods, but Apollo and Aesculapius were powerless. His sufferings lasted eighteen months. Then without any change in his pagan beliefs, he conceived the strange idea of asking those whom he had hated and tortured to pray to their God for him. On April 30th, 311, he published an Edict putting an end to persecution. Five days later he died.

This famous Edict of Toleration was characteristically pagan. "Among the other things which we have ordained for the public advantage and profit," the Emperor writes, "we formerly wished to restore everything to conformity with the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans and to provide that the Christians also, who have forsaken the religion of their ancestors should return to a good disposition." He accuses them of arrogance in forsaking the national religion

of their ancestors and stupidity in attempting to form one of their own. He admits that the measures he took to compel them to abandon their faith had failed, and he adds: "And since many continue in the same folly, and we perceive that they neither offer to the heavenly gods the worship which is due, nor pay regard to the God of the Christians, in consideration of our philanthropy and our invariable custom, by which we are wont to extend pardon to all, we have determined that we ought most cheerfully to extend our indulgence in this matter also, that they may again be Christians, and may rebuild the conventicles in which they were accustomed to assemble *on condition that nothing be done by them contrary to discipline.*" After some further observations he concludes: "Wherefore on account of this indulgence of ours, they ought to supplicate their God for our safety, and that of the people, and their own, that the public welfare may be preserved in every place, and that they may live securely in their several homes."

Though this document put an end to the actual persecution of the Christians it was far from satisfying their hopes or giving them any assurance of peace. It was merely a confession of failure by a man who sought the prayers of those whom he would neither pardon nor spare could he help it. It was an admirable summary of the traditional attitude of Roman officialdom and from that attitude Galerius had not receded. To his mind the state had the right to dictate the religion of its citizens. If the Christians were tolerated, in spite of the fact that theirs was not the national belief, it was only on condition that they did nothing *contrary to discipline.* They were merely on sufferance. Their position before the laws was the same as it was prior to the outbreak and as it had been for three centuries. The Edict was a concession of a fact not the acknowledgment of a principle. So far was it from religious toleration that Maximinus does not seem to have regarded it as having any bearing on his attitude. It was a victory for the Christians to have wrung such a concession from Galerius. They compelled the acceptance of a fact: the admission of the principle came two years later.

While Galerius during the last years of his life was devising fresh methods of attacking the Christians, Constantine was busy with the affairs of Gaul. The old Maximian, who fled to him, after quarreling with Maxentius, proved extremely troublesome, to such an extent indeed that he tried to supplant Constantine with the army, and afterwards to murder him. Constantine condemned him to death for his treachery and ingratitude. A sufficient pretext was found in this act of justice for a war which had long been brewing and which was to afford Constantine the means of becoming master of the whole Roman world. Maxentius affected to be deeply grieved by the death of his father and demanded satisfaction from Constantine. It came with astounding suddenness. With an army much inferior numerically to that which Maxentius had collected Constantine crossed the Alps and in a victorious campaign which has been compared to Napoleon's first campaign in Italy, he made himself master of Susa, Turin, Milan, Brescia, and Verona, defeating the troops of Maxentius wherever they opposed him. He was assured of victory in a vision which he himself and his whole army saw as he related to Eusebius. "He said that about noon when the day was beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens above the sun and bearing the inscription, Conquer by This. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition and witnessed the miracle."

Maxentius had gone out a short distance beyond the city to meet him and stationed the main body of his army at the Milvian bridge which crosses the Tiber a few miles north of the city. Constantine met the outposts of Maxentius at Saxa Rubra and drove them back on the serried rows of troops drawn up in battle array at the Milvian Bridge with the river in their rear. The soldiers of Maxentius were no match for the veteran troops of Constantine, the defeat became a rout, and in the crush of fugitives Maxentius was forced into the river where he perished. The Labarum or standard of the Cross had led the troops of Constantine to an overwhelming victory. (Oct. 28th, 312.)

Rome received the conqueror with jubilation; but the hostile attitude of Maximinus and the needs of the Empire drew him to Milan for a conference with his colleague Licinius with whom he had already formed an alliance. The most important result of this conference was the publication early in the year 313 of an Edict not only of Toleration but of Peace for the Christians. This famous document is preserved entire by Eusebius in a Greek translation and without the Preamble in the original Latin by Lactantius. As is well known Constantine was not yet a member of the Church, in fact he did not receive baptism until just before his death, but the tone of the document and the grasp of Christian principles which it shows, proves it to be the product of a mind already Christian. The subsequent career of the two men by whose authority it was issued makes it manifest that Constantine was the author. The wording of the document, its comprehensiveness, and its exactness, show the care and consideration which were devoted to its composition.

Even after the publication of the Edict of Galerius in 311 that ended persecution for the time being, the condition of the Christians was still precarious. They were not permitted to make converts and they were exposed to fresh outbursts at the hands of any ruler who had the will or the means to persecute them. The Edict of Milan was final. By it the Roman state formally and definitely abandoned its despotism in matters of religion.

In a preamble to the Edict the reasons are set forth which led to its publication. These are: 1. the conviction which had grown in the minds of the Emperors that "each individual should have the right to perform his religious duties according to his own choice," and 2. to remedy the defect in previous Edicts which imposed conditions at variance with that choice. Then follow the clauses which give the Edict its peculiar character and great importance. "When we, Constantine and Licinius, came under favorable auspices to Milan and took under consideration everything which pertained to the common weal and prosperity, we resolved among other things, or rather first of all, to make such decrees as seemed in many respects

for the benefit of every one; namely, such as should preserve reverence and piety towards the Deity. We resolved, that is, to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they choose, that the Divine Power in Heaven may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government. We have, therefore, determined with sound and upright purpose that liberty is to be denied to no one to choose and to follow the religious observances of the Christians, but that to each one freedom is to be given to devote his mind to that religion which he may think adapted to himself, in order that the Deity may exhibit to us in all things His accustomed care and favor. It was fitting that we should write that this is our pleasure, that these conditions being entirely left out which were contained in our former letter concerning the Christians (the Edict of Galerius bore the names of both Constantine and Licinius), everything that seemed very severe and foreign to our mildness may be annulled, and that now everyone who has the desire to observe the religion of the Christians may do so without molestation. Since freedom and full liberty is granted to the Christians to observe their own religion, liberty is granted to others also who may wish to follow their own observances: it being clearly in accordance with the tranquillity of our times, that each one should have the liberty of choosing and worshipping whatever deity he pleases. This has been done by us in order that we might not seem in any way to discriminate against any rank or religion."

After this long and explicit statement of what may not unfitly be called a "constitutional amendment" there come certain clauses of an administrative character in which the corporate nature of the Church is recognized and orders are given for the restoration of all places of worship and all ecclesiastical property which had been confiscated, and the indemnification of the persons into whose possession such property may have come. "In all these particulars," the document concludes, "for the behoof of the aforesaid society of Christians, you are to use the utmost diligence, to the end that our command may be speedily fulfilled . . . . and it is expected that this which we have written will be published everywhere and brought to

the knowledge of all, in order that this gracious ordinance of ours may remain unknown to no one."

Viewing the constitutional portion of this Edict merely as an instrument by which the future policies and action of the Roman government were to be regulated, it can be regarded in no other light than a complete abandonment of the theory on which all the civilizations of antiquity rested, that the State and its religion were one. This decree established the complete separation of state and religion. It was the adoption of a principle, first enunciated in the Christian religion, that there were spheres of human action over which the State should have neither supervision nor control. In its political bearing, it meant the end of State absolutism, and it made possible the establishment among men of groups and societies entirely independent of national restrictions, and in this sphere of thought and theory, it was a recognition of the common nature of mankind.

In theory as well as in practice, the ancient world had committed itself to the doctrine that the maintenance of the State was the supreme end of human existence, this Edict of Milan was based on the principle that no earthly power should intervene between the individual human soul and God, and that to that extent, at least, the individual salvation was superior to social welfare. In other words Individualism triumphed over Collectivism. Finally this Edict was the enunciation of the doctrine of religious liberty, of freedom of conscience. It may seem almost incredible that this principle, which to the modern mind seems essential to civilization and progress, was first formally and officially promulgated by a civil ruler only sixteen hundred years ago. It was taught and practised by the Christians three hundred years before, they went to death cheerfully and willingly rather than surrender it, the apologists had pleaded for it and expounded it, but never in the history of humanity was liberty of conscience proclaimed as a working theory of government, until Constantine issued the Edict of Milan in 313.

The publication of the Edict was a victory for Christianity,

but it was none the less a victory for humanity. The reforms implied in this decree first found expression in Christianity and their establishment is due solely and exclusively to the courage and constancy of martyrs and confessors. The act of Constantine put the seal on a victory which was won through the irresistible diffusiveness of Christian doctrines. His Edict was the epitaph of Roman state absolutism and of ancient pagan civilization.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

THE SYMBOLISM OF FRANCIS THOMPSON.

"The note that comes most majestically from Thompson is that of reconciliation of the two natures and destinies of man. To that literal oneness Wordsworth groped in his merely 'kindred points of heaven and home.' Of that oneness Rossetti has the hint and Coventry Patmore the full vision." These words of a critic in "The Academy" furnish the best means of approaching the poems of Francis Thompson, for his thought derives immediately from Rossetti and Coventry Patmore. Like theirs his poetry is essentially 'sacramental.' To Rossetti beauty was mainly symbolic, valued for its suggestive quality, its hint of something beyond, of which it was but an outward sign or expression; he sang of Beauty

> "Whose speech Truth knows not from her thought,
> Nor love her body from her soul."

Patmore precises its character, which to Rossetti was vague and undefined, by regarding it as a broken light of the divine. Beginning as the graceful poet of wedded life he ends as the laureate of the Marriage Sacrament. Earthly love which, though enskied in "The Blessed Damosel" had yet remained human and pagan, becomes spiritual in "The Wedding Sermon" and in the odes of "The Unknown Eros." For, blown upon by some breath of heaven, it comes to shadow forth, through the medium of the myth of Eros and Psyche, the bridals of Christ and the soul, the mystic union of Christ and His Church. Thompson, the heir of these poets, shows still further how things of sense may be made the means of ascent to the divine, how through the lamp Beauty may be seen the light, God. In this quest paganism is pressed into service as a means of furtherance. "The beautiful fables of the Greeks," writes Emerson, "being proper creations of the imagination and not of the fancy, are universal verities." Similarly,

Thompson regards the pagan myths as foreshadowings of Divine truth:

> "For all the past, read true, is prophecy,
> And all the firsts are hauntings of some Last.
> And all the springs are flash-lights of one Spring.
> Then leaf and flower, and fall-less fruit
> Shall hang together on the un-yellowing bough."

Thus, with a strange fusion of Christian and pagan imagery, the mission of the poems is to teach how

> "the crucifix may be
> Carven from the laurel-tree,
> Fruit of the Hesperides
> Burnish take on Eden-trees,
> The Muses' sacred grove be wet
> With the red dew of Olivet,
> And Sappho lay her burning brows
> In white Cecilia's lap of snows."

Not without pain and trial however had such a vision been won, and of this ordeal *The Hound of Heaven* remains a touching record. It is the history of a soul which had loved greatly but wrongly, and was lessoned by disillusion into the truth. He whose sense of beauty was his religion was here to learn, through what strange ways! the only sense in which 'Beauty is truth, Truth beauty!' So the poem may be called the palinode of neo-Paganism or Humanism—of the attempt to seek in love of Nature or love of man, the peace and satisfaction which are to be found only in the love of God. For one resolved to live in the True, the Good, and the Beautiful it offers the inevitable solution in its tender closing appeal:

> "Ah fondest, blindest, weakest
> I am He Whom thou seekest!
> Thou dravest love from thee who dravest Me."

Thompson's view of Nature is subjective:

> "O Nature, never-done
> Ungaped-at Pentecostal miracle
> We hear thee, each man in his proper tongue."

It is interesting to trace the gradual process of his change

of attitude towards it. He had begun indeed with the pagan interpretation, and sought to find content in the beautiful nature-myths. These he re-creates with a faculty of make-believe allied to the mythopoeic instinct of the Greeks, or to the 'Renascence of Wonder' in later English poetry. Like the appointed knight who can wind the elfin horn which hangs at the portal of Nature, he holds the open sesame of its inner secrets. Its hidden presences straightway reveal themselves; its common appearances take on personality; to his undimmed vision the earth becomes in reality

> "Swift Tellus' purpled tunic, girt upon
> With the blown chlamys of her fluttering seas."

With Keats and Shelley, he can draw exquisite genre-pictures of the Seasons, and evoke the shy genius-loci who informs the wind, or cloud, or stream. The changes on the face of Nature he interprets in terms of the moods joyous or sad, wilful or wistful of these unseen habitants. Thus he revels with a child's glee in the beauty and wonder of life. Yet it is because he realizes so intimately those gracious presences that he cannot rest in their finite, concrete expression of Nature. Gradually they lose form and semblance and fade from his vision:

> "Why withers their lament?
> Their tresses tear-besprent
> Have they sighed hence with trailing garment hem?
> O sweet, O sad, O fair
> I catch your flying hair
> Draw your eyes down to me, and dream on them!"

They have become a spectral *corps de ballet* on the empty stage of Nature, vague and insubstantial because of no account for the cares and sorrows of life. His creed has failed him because, as he confesses,

> "Nature, poor step-dame, cannot slake my drouth
> Let her, if she would owe me.
> Drop yon blue bosom-veil of sky and show me
> The breasts o' her tenderness:
> Never did any milk of hers once bless
> My thirsting mouth."

The *Ode to the Setting Sun* marks the passing of the pagan, and the *Orient Ode* the coming of the Christian mystic. The pagan conception is made to yield up its spiritual implication. The poet has not foregone his attitude towards the sun as for him 'a god, not dead,' but discerns in such reverence the key to its real significance, its true *raison d'être*—in sole posuit tabernaculum suum. He addresses it:

> "Light out of Light!
> Resplendent and prevailing Word
> Of the unheard.
> Not unto thee, great Image, not to thee
> Did the wise heathen bend an idle knee;
> And in an age of faith grown frore
> If I too shall adore,
> Be it accounted unto me
> A bright sciential idolatry."

He has learned to read off the outward expression of its splendors with a vision in which the eye borrows of the ear, and to translate the mysterious import of its

> "Heavenly harping harmony
> Melodious, sealed, inaudible."

And the burden of this music can be expressed only in terms of God. The relation of the sun to the earth symbolizes that of God to His Church:

> "Thou to thy spousal universe
> Art Husband, she thy Wife and Church;
> Who in most dusk and vidual curch
> Her Lord being hence
> Keeps her cold sorrows by thy hearse.
> The heavens renew their innocence
> And morning state
> But by thy sacrament communicate."

Thus in the poet's dealing with Nature everything has become mystery and hieroglyph. By him as by the Apostle the invisible things of creation are clearly seen, being perceived by the things that are made. The book of Nature is like one of those illuminated missals of the Middle Ages wherein each

season has its special rubrical colour—the vivid green of spring, the golden summer, the russet tints of autumn, the white winter. He sees God figured alike in the blood-red of the setting sun:

> "Thou art of Him a type memorial
> Like Him thou hangst in dreadful pomp of blood
> Upon thy Western rood."

as in the benediction of the dawn, and the white ministry of the snow-flake. Thus do the heavens declare to him the glory of God, nay the whole earth swings as a fragrant censer before 'His embannered throne':

> "Reintegrated are the heaven and earth!
> From sky to sod,
> The world's unfolded blossom smells of God."

If Thompson discovered glimpses of Heaven in earth he likewise caught the reflection of God in man. In this province he is notably influenced by Coventry Patmore. The latter hymns the body as a

> "Little sequestered pleasure-house
> For God and for His Spouse"

so Thompson, in *Any Saint,*

> "Lo, God's two worlds immense
> Of spirit and of sense
> Wed
> In this narrow bed"

And the senses are for him outward signs, sacramental symbols of the spirits. The fair shows of sense are, as it were, the key on which God modulates throughout the universe. In *Her Portrait* this view receives noblest expression:

> "The immortal could we cease to contemplate
> The mortal part suggests its every trait.
> God laid his fingers on the ivories
> Of her pure members as on smoothèd keys
> And there outbreathed her spirit's harmonies."

Hence his sense of the sacredness of the body as being the

true Shekinah, the temple of the in-dwelling God. Hence, too, his singular elevation of tone in dealing with the themes of chidhood and love. Children he reverences, like Wordsworth, as the links which connect us most nearly with heaven. *Sister Songs* and *The Making of Viola* celebrate adequately their flower-like charms as of the Spring, and their white innocence as of Heaven. Their every unconscious trait has for him a suggestive character; their appealing littleness contains a hint of greatness unspeakable; their lisping becomes broken stammer of the skies. Like childhood, love haunts him with the sense of something beyond, of which it is an expression:

> "An incidental greatness characters
> Its unconsidered ways."

His realization of the dignity of human nature imparts to his treatment of love that spiritual exaltation which recalls Plato and Dante. He sifts its golden musics out and finds them starry babble of heaven. The tone of the poems *Love in Dion's Lap* suggests not so much the knightliness of the Cavalier poets, as the devotion of one

> "in very lowlihead of love—
> Too shyly reverencing
> To let one thought's light footfall smooth
> Tread near the living, consecrated thing."

Outside the "Vita Nuova" the appeal of the "ewig Weibliches" has not received such idealistic expression.

The *Mistress of Vision* marks the point of transition in the development of Thompson, the stage when disenchanted with his bright Hellenism, he learns the lesson of renunciation. He has discovered the impermanence of all that is fair:

> "Whatso looks lovelily
> Is but the rainbow on life's weeping rain"

and, with Keats, has experienced the melancholy that dwells with beauty,

> "Beauty that must die
> And Joy whose hand is ever at his lips
> Bidding adieu; and acting Pleasure nigh
> Turning to poison while the bee mouth sips."

His love of Nature and love of man had failed to steady him beneath the burden of the stern facts of life. Then his seer-like vision helped him to confront them and find even in the grim fact of death its sufficient compensation

> "Pontific Death, that doth the crevasse bridge
> To the steep and trifid God."

and catch therein the note of a larger mercy. His metaphysical subtlety of mind led him to trace the analogy that exists beneath things dissimilar:

> "All things by immortal power
> Near or far
> Hiddenly to each other linkèd are"

and to resolve apparent evil in a higher good:

> God's fair were guessed scarce but for opposite sin.
> Yea, and His Mercy, I do think it well
> Is flashed back from the brazen gates of Hell."

Disciplined into asceticism, he comes to know at least the inwardness of tribulation, and to refer it to the mercy of God, for is it not after all but "Shade of His Hand outstretched caressingly"? Thus with his quickened insight the poet has arrived at a new reading of life which he finds interpenetrated at all points with marks of the Divine purpose. The poem *In no Strange Land,* which is poignant with memories of his dereliction in London, reminds us, if this meaning of life escapes us,

> "The angels keep their ancient places:—
> Turn but a stone, and start a wing!
> 'Tis ye, 'tis your estrangèd faces
> That miss the many-splendoured thing."

FLORENCE MOYNIHAN.

LITERARY TRUTH AND HISTORICITY IN THEIR BEARING ON THE BIBLICAL GENEALOGIES.

The confusion of the two ideas, literary truth and historicity, is responsible for many a misunderstanding of Holy Writ and for much of the obscurity enshrouding current Biblical discussion. To say the expressions are synonymous may well do when one is sure he is in the domain of genuine history; but to maintain that they are in all cases identical and therefore interchangeable, is erroneous in etymology, logic, theology and metaphysics.

What is literary truth? What is historicity? Absolutely speaking, truth is the conformity or agreement existing between a concept and its object. Literary truth is the agreement between the presentation of the concept in literary form and the object of the concept. It is more complex than simple truth since the latter implies only two terms, the object and its concept; while literary truth involves at least three, the object, its concept, and the description of the object in accordance with the concept.

Historicity is nothing else than historic truth, and may be defined as the correspondence of fact to the narration of fact. As a species of literary truth it can never connote fewer than three terms, in which case the writer must be an eye-witness of the facts narrated; while the highest possible number of terms cannot be fixed, since it depends on the number of intermediate channels through which the truth has passed.

The fidelity of concept to its object has been investigated most searchingly by philosophers and need not be delved into here. It is one of those basic principles which hermeneutics takes for granted. But the same cannot be said of the relation between the description of an object and the object described. This is something which hermeneutics must establish and not postulate.

There are many kinds of literature. There are many kinds

of literary vehicles by which a knowledge of truth may be conveyed to the intelligence. It is not because truth is variable, but because of the variability of the medium through which truth is communicated.

The senses perceive and their impressions are real and true. The mind abstracts and the abstraction is correct. But an error may easily creep into the mental judgment about what has occurred, and be manifested outwardly in a proposition. Error, in its simplest analysis, is the assigning of a concept to an object not its own, or, conversely, the assigning of an object to a wrong concept. Now what the mind does by its interior operation is reflected in literary composition as in a mirror. The content of literature is just as certainly a reproduction of concept as concept is a reproduction of object. The whole function of literature is to convey ideas and judgments, be they true or false, in exactly the same condition in which it receives them.

Falsity in literature stands for falsity in the mind dictating it; truth in literature for truth in the mind expressing it. Biblical veracity is therefore not distinguishable from the veracity of the inspired authors, and since this in turn bespeaks the veracity of God inspiring, one of the chief effects of inspiration, after the impulse to write and the awakening of ideas, is so to illumine the writer's mind as to make it impossible for him to mistake one concept for another. Correct judgment is thereby assured and every possibility of error removed.

Yet it is at this very point that the variability of the literary medium comes into play. Even after the inspired author has determined to consign the truth to writing, there is much left to be done. He must, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, choose between poetry and prose, between the oratorical or sermon form and that of plain instruction. He must decide whether he shall clothe his thoughts with simple narrative or with parabolic, allegorical, or apocalyptic expression. These are so many *kinds* of literature, each having laws, properties, and licences of its own *from usage,* and independently of his making. But no matter which he prefers, the truth he intends to impart will always bear or be accompanied

by certain authentic marks to make it recognizable. Without these he would fail in his purpose and such a contingency is incompatible with the idea and nature of inspiration.

The literary medium, precisely *as a medium,* with all its properties and characteristics, is a thing to be distinguished from the divine message it contains. So true is this that if the medium is to a certain extent artificial, as in the parable, the truth it has been adopted to convey will not suffer thereby. All those competent to pass judgment on the matter will see at a glance that the artificial element belongs to the medium and has its sanction *from usage,* while the message derives its authenticity from the veracity of God.

To be more concrete, our Saviour is known to have woven into a pathetically charming story a number of incidents concerning "a man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among robbers, who also stripped him, and having wounded him went away leaving him half-dead." [1] Did these incidents really occur as related? Perhaps they did and perhaps they did not. At any rate, we cannot tell from the way in which we are told of them. Our Lord would not have been at fault even though they had not, since He makes no pretension at narrating historical facts. He is using parable, a *kind* of literature which did not require historicity in its presentation and which for that very reason could never guarantee it. Whenever parable is historic this quality has to be discerned through sources other than the parable itself before it can be affirmed.

Yet the Biblical parable—for we are dealing with no other—is none the less true. There is not the slightest grain of fiction mingled with the deep religious truth embodied in it. Even its artificial elements are made to serve a high purpose, being chosen, as they are, because of an external similarity with the truths revealed. They are more than mere literary embellishments. As in the parable above referred to, they are faithful reproductions of our Lord's concepts. If Christ had not represented to Himself the national exclusivism of the Jew,

[1] Lk. x, 30-35.

a traveller, a priest, a Levite, a good Samaritan, the road to Jericho and the inn, He would not have described them for us. On the other hand, these concepts were not wrongly taken by Him for others, albeit of a higher order. There were in His mind two groups of concepts, which He was very far from confusing. The one described related to the topography, customs, and ethnography of Palestine; the other soared aloft in the supernatural world and represented the loving-kindness and mercy of His heavenly Father, who would consider and have all men to be neighbors.[2]

The psychic process which transpired in originating the parable was to compare these two orders of ideas and then, on perceiving the adaptability of the first to the second, to determine to use the first in portraying the second. Clearly the first group, *as combined* in the story could no longer lay a necessary claim to objectivity, since the combination, *precisely as a combination,* was designed solely *as a medium* for the conveyance of higher truth. This, its function, once performed in accordance with approved usage, the author would not and could not be held accountable for the historicity or non-historicity of the things related. His purpose was aloof from that.

But there are already four links in the chain, nay, five. At bottom are the divine attributes eternally existent in the Godhead; secondly, there are the concepts immediately begotten of these in the mind of Christ; thirdly, there is the group of pictoral concepts; fourthly, there is the parable as enunciated by our Lord. To these should be added fifthly, the literary form in which this whole process has been crystallized by the Evangelist.

In the realm of Biblical hermeneutics it is required that the particular literary production under analysis agree with all four antecedent terms in virtue of a twofold influence of inspiration. This influence, as affecting the parable proper, is both extrinsic and intrinsic. Extrinsically, the parable is referred back to Christ as to its author; whence, the veracity of the Holy Spirit and St. Luke is pledged to have the fifth

[2] St. Bonaventure on Lk. x, 36-37.

term harmonize with the fourth, by reproducing the words or meaning of Christ without substantial alteration. After that our Saviour Himself becomes responsible instead of the Evangelist.[3]

But besides this influx which infallibly characterizes the giving of the parable as an historical incident in the life of the Messiah, the doctrine intrinsic to the parable is at the same time visibly commended by the Evangelist who makes it, so to speak, his own. This is proof irrefragable that it has received in advance the approval of the "Conscriptor" or Spirit of God, as it were, independently of the authority of Christ, and so it comes to us doubly divine.

In other words, that the parable was uttered is a historic truth distinct from the truth of what was uttered. It needed therefore to be testified to apart from the latter. The distinction is important for there are many passages in Sacred Scripture that are affected only extrinsically by inspiration, and many others that are affected only intrinsically.[4] The majority, however, are affected both ways whenever they are of a nature to permit it.

From the definitions and illustrations so far developed, it follows that a narrative may convey truth without being historic, although no narrative can be historic without being in some sense true. Historicity is truth, but truth need not be historicity. Accordingly, the historical character of certain Biblical passages may on solid grounds be called into doubt without detriment to inspiration. Indeed, with the exception of those cases in which the Sacred Writer has been manifestly impelled *to write history,* historicity must be established through tradition or by other means aside from inspiration. Were this not true the whole Bible would be history and nothing but history for "all its parts are inspired."[5] Now nobody upholds this

[3] Lk. x, 30.

[4] Examples: The denial, "There is no God," is *extrinsically* inspired in Ps. xiii, 1; lii, 1, where it is voiced as the correct expression of the thoughts of a fool; Ps. cxvi, (Laudate Dominum), is *intrinsically* inspired.

[5] Conc. Vat. Sess. iii, cap. 2, and can. 4.—Denzinger, 1787 (1636) and 1809 (1656).

absurd conclusion for nobody is prepared to deny that allegories, parables, proverbs, hymns and canticles constitute a very large part of the Bible.

The query, "Is a given passage historic?" is not then equivalent to the question, "Is that same passage true?" If it were, Catholic scholars would desist from proposing it, except in a hypothetical way. Yet it is equivalent to asking, "*What kind* of truth are we to look for in this passage, *historic,* or some other *kind?*"

As there is a variety of mediums so is there a variety of truths. For a starting-point we may take theological, philosophical, scientific and historic truths outside the Bible, their classification being due to the diversity of their respective objects, as considered in themselves and *independently of all description.* In the concrete order these truths may frequently be found overlapping and intermingling, as a result of which, they are bound to overlap and intermingle in literature. That is why the magnificent synthesis of Catholic theology would be supremely ethereal without the saving substructure of revealed and philosophic truth. That is why the dogmatic presentation of the Incarnation, the Holy Eucharist and Mariology would be more fitting for an esoteric Christianity than for that which is our priceless heritage, unless they were, as we know them to be, based on historic truths that are unquestionable.

But the alliance binding truths of different orders together, or the genius that juxtaposes or compares them does not deprive them of their respective natures. That the Son of God became incarnate remains always a revealed truth whether we read of it in the Inspired Word, in a religious novel, or in the treatise on essence and existence in scholastic philosophy. Similarly, the typical sacrifice of Isaac can never be disrobed of a historic character, nor the theorems of Euclid of a mathematical, nor the principle of contradiction of a philosophical, even though these truths were to find their way into liturgics, dramatics, Semitics or the motley advertisements of a street-car.

In the same way, Biblical truths will preserve their several

are attired. Historic facts and divine revelations may be poetically presented, as in the Psalms. Profound theological truths, such as the reality of divine providence, may be developed in historical narratives like Esther and Tobias. Prophecies may be simply related as in the Gospels, or drawn out into sermons as in the Minor Prophets; while the fundamental truths of supernatural religion may don an humble primitive, popular garb, as in the first three chapters of Genesis. All this is fact. The mistake would lie either in the disparagement of the truths thus arrayed, as modernizing exegetes are wont to do, or in the denomination of the truths from the medium or the medium from the truths. The first error has led to the relegation of a large part of the book of Genesis to the domain of myth and unreality, while the second has reduced the sublimely historic Gospel of St. John to the level of a rhapsody setting forth the theological aberrations of a mystic in a purely fictitious framework of history.

The literary kind cannot be overlooked by him who would know precisely and understand what an author has to say. Yet too much importance should not be attached to it. It may often prove insufficient to justify either an affirmation or a denial of the authenticity of what is said. If the dramas of Shakespeare do not cease to be dramas just because Cæsar, Henry VIII, or Richard II are known to have existed, it is equally true that if the history of these personages were not found elsewhere, the dramas themselves, although furnishing a strong persuasion, could hardly certify us of it. Once more, if Ben Hur does not become genuine history in virtue of its historic setting, neither does the divine Leprosy-healer introduced into it cease to be historic because of the rôle He is made to play in a novel. Outside the Bible as well as within it, the literary *kind* with its properties, limitations, and functions is one thing, while the information, theory, plot or doctrine it bodies forth is another. It is an instrument or subject in hermeneutics, not a sovereign. Its office in the world of literature is somewhat like that of the senses in serving the intellect. Just as these latter, without perceiving intellectual truth, carry it nevertheless to the mind bundled up, characters, regardless of the literary apparel in which they

as it were, in a covering of color, fragrance, taste and the like, so is the literary *kind* a channel for the reception and transmission of truth without either tainting or assimilating it.

Now in dealing with mankind God's action has always been one of condescension. As at the Incarnation the Uncreated Word took upon Himself our lowly human nature with all its infirmities and apparent unbefittingness, so in the communication of His created Word through the prophets and apostles, God chose only those ordinary mediums with which men were already familiar. Now the virginal body of Christ, although perfected, did not lose its human qualities by being united to the divinity; neither does a literary medium lose its peculiar characteristics by contact with the divine message. Inspiration governs the choice of a medium, the capacity of which it may raise to the highest for the sake of perfect transmission, but it does not metamorphose the medium into one of another kind.

These observations are calculated to shed light on the study of the Biblical genealogies. It may be desirable, however, before treating of these directly, to sum up in canons the results arrived at in this section.

1. If the literary medium employed by the Sacred Writer under the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is not of a nature to guarantee historicity outside the Bible, it cannot guarantee it within the Bible, since the medium receives its sanction entirely *from usage.*

2. Since the action of the Holy Spirit in inspiring continues until the writing is over, it must so influence the inspired agent as to make him choose that kind of literature best suited to *his* ability for the correct transmission of the message received.

3. If God decrees to impart the knowledge of historical facts *as such* through *given* passages, whether the passages be isolated or consecutive, He will provide that the passages or their context be so worded as to certify the reader to that effect.

4. The presence of historical facts among unhistorical literary features does not thereupon rob the facts of their historicity, but it leaves them open to proof or apparent disproof *from other sources.*

5. Any narration of human occurrences is presumed to be historic until the contrary is proved, since narative of this sort has belonged, according to the usage of all ages, to the historic kind of literature.

II.

The Genealogies.

The motive in singling out the Biblical genealogies in their relation with the principles set forth in the previous section, is, to place before the reader a problem that is commonly regarded as unsolved, at least in many matters of detail.

We may begin with the genealogy of our Lord as contained in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, treating only that phase of it which bears on the present question.

In verse 8 it is signified that "Joram begot Ozias." The word "begot" (ἐγέννησεν) would naturally lead us to think that Joram was the father of Ozias, but such was not the case. Three generations are known to have separated them, thus making the former the great-great-grandfather of the latter, and not his immediate progenitor. Historically, Joram begot Ochozias;[6] Ochozias begot Joas;[7] Joas begot Amasias;[8] and Amasias begot Ozias.[9] Farther on, the name of Joachim should be inserted between those of Josias and Jechonias, for Josias begot Joachim, and it was Joachim, not, as stated, Josias, who begot Jechonias and his brethren.[10]

This part of the genealogy is evidently at fault. It cannot be alleged that the omissions have occurred accidentally. The missing names have been purposely suppressed, for a subordinate idea in producing the genealogy was, according to verse 17, to show that "*all* the generations from Abraham to David, are *fourteen* generations; and from David to the transmigration

[6] I Par. iii, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, v. 12.
[9] II Par, xxvi, 1, Ozias = Azarias in I Par. iii, 12.
[10] Jer. xxii, 18, 24.

of Babylon, are *fourteen* generations: and from the transmigration of Babylon to Christ are *fourteen* generations."

To complicate matters still more, the author of the genealogy who, by using the Jewish method of calculation, includes the two extremes in his count for the first and third cycles, should consistently have done the same thing in numbering the generations of the second. But the spell of equality in the threefold division would then be broken, for he would have fifteen in the second part instead of fourteen. Yet even fifteen would fall short of the enumeration according to Old Testament data, which is nineteen.[11]

Overlooking this inaccuracy, it will be enough to confine our attention to the omissions.

Quite beside the mark, for sufficiency, is the explanation volunteered by Fr. Knabenbauer. This eminent exegete seems not to have observed that Joachim is passed over unnoticed. He devotes a fair amount of space to traditional views concerning the triple omission of the kings between Joram and Ozias, and then, after eliminating these one by one, he favors that preferred by Maldonatus. He is not thoroughly satisfied with it, but recommends it as one with which "we must be content until a better one is found."[12] According to this opinion, *St. Matthew* (!) designedly left out the names, understanding doubtless that, "by a divine judgment, they had been destroyed out of Israel and the genealogy of Christ." Touching more particularly upon the cause of the "divine judgment," he relies on "the ancients" including St. Jerome, as furnishing collectively "the real reason" for the omission. It was this. "The memory of Joram to the third generation is banished from the holy Nativity because of his marriage with the race of the impious Jezabel."[13]

[11] See table XXIV in the Concordantiarum Thesaurus of the Jesuit Cursus.

[12] Knabenbauer, *In Genesim*, Pars I, pag. 39.

[13] This opinion is thus worded in an erudite commentary of uncertain authorship formerly ascribed to St. Chrysostom: "Sed juste usque ad tres generationes ex eo (scil. Joram) sanctus Spiritus per Matthaeum pracepit de numero regum tollere de immundo et maledicto semine natos, in generationibus Christi spernens connumerare."—M. PG. 56, cc. 623-4.

As a matter of fact, it is Joram's memory that is perpetuated, since both *his* name and lineage appear. The genealogy contains not the slightest insinuation that he was so accursed. Rather is he presented as the progenitor of the twenty generations leading up to Christ. And how can even his immediate descendants be considered as "banished out of Israel" here, when they enjoy such prominence as is accorded them in the Old Testament? It would not indeed have been astonishing if Joram's posterity had received more scrupulous attention, and if, with them, the foreign wife of the king, Jezabel's daughter, had been introduced to keep company with Thamar, Rahab and the wife of Urias.[14]

Commenting on these last names, St. Jerome says: "It is to be observed that, in the pedigree of the Saviour, no woman is chosen from among the holy, but only those whom Scripture reprehends. That is done to show that He who came for the sake of sinners, in being born of sinners, would destroy the sins of all." [15]

Congruities like this in their proper place have a value all their own and far be it from us to spurn them. Yet they are evasive for the present and can have no determinate value until the problem proposed is settled. However, in answer to this one it may be pointed out that the same line of reasoning which applauds the needless insertion of reprehensible women, is equally cogent in its demands for the reprehensible kings. Hence, Salmeron, striking out on a course opposite that of Fr. Knabenbauer, maintains that the kings "have not been excluded because they were sinners, for others worse than they are enumerated." [16]

What then becomes of St. Matthew's genealogy? To say the least, it is defective; and if the word "begot" is to preserve its natural signification, it makes Joram the father of Ozias, and that is unhistoric. Again, if nineteen generations are

[14] Mt. i, 3, 5, 6.

[15] Knabenbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[16] Allen sees in the mention of the females a preparation by contrast for the presentation of the Virginal Birth at the end, vv. 18-25.—*Intern. Crit. Comm.*, p. 6.

counted as fourteen, it is in error, and that is the more unpardonable if the writer promises us a correct list.

But let us look again. Have we actually been promised that much, or is it the inspired author, St. Matthew, who promises? The introductory verse runs more like a title than an inspired promise. It reads: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." The Evangelist makes no observation on the authenticity or the contents of this so-called "book." He takes the first for granted and gives us the second as he finds them. Now the contents embrace the genealogy as contained in the sixteen verses that follow. The "book," therefore, terminates with verse 17.

From this it would seem that St. Matthew was availing himself of a little genealogical book already in existence, which *in its composition* need not have been either Matthean or inspired. To employ a distinction explained in section I, so long as the book remained of human origin and unaltered, inspiration cannot be considered to have affected it *intrinsically*. Yet it was grounded on the Old Testament record which contains most of the progenitors named. It might perhaps originally have been intended for a *summary* of historico-prophetic information about the beginnings of Jesus. In a summary the repeated use of the word "begot" could be tolerated as denoting progeniture in a direct line.

The suggestion here advanced is derived from St. Luke's list[17] which, more normal in its construction, assigns twenty-one generations corresponding to St. Matthew's second cycle of fourteen (= nineteen); and twenty-three corresponding to St. Matthew's third cycle. Although the third cycle cannot be verified or disproved by comparison with extant documents, this remarkable divergence in numbers with St. Luke eminently justifies the suspicion that it is not any more reliable than the second cycle. The much longer period it is presumed to have spanned, six hundred years as against four hundred, confirms this unfavorable impression. In short, so long as the

[17] Lk. iii, 23-38.

composition of this unique pedigree is attributed to an inspired author it will bristle with harassing difficulties. On the one hand, the scholar will be left to lament with Euthemius: "Nullus ante nos hanc solvit questionem," [18] while on the other, he will find St. Chrysostom's apology somewhat too serious to admit of pleasantry: "I leave the question to be solved by yourselves, for it is unnecessary to solve everything for you. Such a course would engender nausea." [19]

In the hypothesis that "The Book of the Generation" is only a summary, and that it never purported to be more than a summary, it seems permissible to venture the belief that it was designed by its author *for popular use.* That would easily account for the arbitrary suppression of certain obnoxious names and the retention of others in making up three generations each composed of two times seven generations. The supposition gains additional plausibility from the prominent rôle played by the mystic numbers, three and seven, in Old Testament and Christian symbolism.

To the minds of Origen, St. Jerome, Blessed Albert the Great, Cornelius à Lapide and others, the three fourteens seemed pointed and significant as bearing a *secret* allusion to the forty-two traditional stations made by the Israelites in the desert on their way to the Land of Promise. Curiously enough, both calculations end with the advent of a Jesus (Josue = Jesus = savior) who leads his followers into a permanent inheritance.[20]

In this comparison the relation of type to anti-type is too patent for controversy; but the correctness of the equation, 42 O. T. = 42 N. T. is of so *secret* a nature, that it runs the risk of belonging to a class almost undefinable. It appears too far fetched to be unduly urged. Besides, it is based on a purely extrinsic and possibly accidental equality in the mathematical totals, to the overlooking of the triple division so express and compelling in the Matthean idea.

[18] M. PG. 129, c. 126.
[19] Hom. iv in Matt., M. PG. 57, c. 39.
[20] Knab., *op. cit.*, p. 50.

It is more than likely that the Christian author of the Evangelist's register was influenced by a more picturesque consideration. The remarkable identity of names and numbers between Abraham and David in all the Biblical pedigrees imposes the conviction that there was no independent extra-Biblical source available for that epoch at the time the Gospels were written. Hence, any manipulation in that part of the extant list must be ascribed to ancient Hebrew chroniclers. Now since Abraham and David were the two great luminaries of Hebrew Messianism, the Christian author of the Matthean pedigree was apparently prompted to regard the unusually low number of twice seven or fourteen generations separating them, as typical and sacred. The mysterious agreement between this number and the sum of the numerical letters in David's Hebrew name at the end, דוד (4 + 6 + 4 = 14), was doubly suggestive—fourteen generations leading up to a fourteen that was crystallized, personified and transfigured in the Prophet-king! Why not then prepare for the introduction of David's anti-type, the Messiah, by a fourteen? Better still, to honor the name of the Psalmist, which is made up of three letters, why not construct the whole pedigree of three fourteens? If Abraham and David were luminaries, the Messiah, "who enlighteneth every man coming into the world, was a greater one, and He had risen, so to speak, after a total eclipse of the first two; namely, the Babylonian captivity. According to this theory which is partly developed from a conjecture advanced by G. H. Box, the literary *form* of the genealogy has its *raison d'être* in being a kind of acrostic formed after the name David.[21] The licenses belong to the form.

Apart from the scientific advantage there is in not having to appeal to an unauthenticated revelation concerning a "divine judgment," as do Maldonatus and Knabenbauer, the explanation of St. Matthew's "Book of the Generation" as a summary designed for popular use, also dispenses us from impeaching either the doctrine of inspiration or the integrity of the Evangelist.

[21] See "Interpreter," Jan., 1906. Allen, *op. cit.*

Inspiration renders infallible all that and only that of which St. Matthew was the author. But St. Matthew, as inspired, was not the author of the book in question. Therefore, he is not responsible for its defects.[22] Inspiration affected the book *extrinsically* only, not intrinsically. As author, St. Matthew's part consisted in the decision to incorporate this particular pedigree into his Gospel, and to give his readers a *true* and faithful *copy* of it. Having done this his work was over.

But let us suppose for a moment that the title, "Book of the Generation," had been omitted. What then? Would not St. Matthew have made himself responsible for the whole list and all its parts?

In other kinds of literature he might be so compromised, but scarcely in the genealogical kind. Genealogies, by their very nature, are founded on records, and their truthfulness can rarely exceed that of the records. "The Book of the Generation of Jesus," as has been noted, was built largely upon the Old Testament. All through Jewish history like records were kept, and by far the majority of them were not inspired; perhaps none of them were. If then a Sacred Author should choose to use them, he would have no alternative but to reproduce them just as he found them. His veracity would be at stake if he meddled with them, and that would be incompatible with inspiration. Truth in the premises would depend exclusively on the exact correspondence of his copy with *the accepted* traditional form. As a Sacred Writer, he would be the author, not of the genealogies themselves, but of the particular *use* they were made to serve in his work.

In a word, "salvis sensu et judicio Ecclesiae," Biblical genealogies bear the stamp of citations. So long as they preserve their simple ordinary form, there is no room in them either for originality, alteration, or embellishment. When they are artificially tampered with, as in the Βιβλος γενέσεως, they become proportionately untrustworthy. Moreover, they

[22] Cfr. Cornely's rule: "In historicis textibus attende ne ipsi auctori narrationem aliquam attribuas, quam ipse tamquam ab alio factam refert." —*Introd. Gen.* I, no. 220, b, γ, pag. 599.

refer in most cases to the distant past, a time beyond the control of eye-witnesses and contemporaries. As a result, they are open to a two-fold division: they are explicit citations when their source is mentioned; they are implicit citations when it is passed over in silence, but in any case an author should not be presumed to advance them on his own authority except in so far as he is a witness to the traditional form they have acquired in his time.

But, it may be argued, in the presence of two divergent documents, like St. Matthew's "book" and the testimony of the Old Testament, is not the inspired writer free to make corrections? Beyond a doubt he is, and his freedom will become necessary if he venture to compose a genealogy anew. But St. Matthew did not do that. Such work had been done for him in advance by others, even anterior to the birth of Christ. St. Luke intimates as much when he tells us that, on learning of the decree of Augustus, Mary and Joseph went "up to Judea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem," to be enrolled, "because he (Joseph) was *of the house and family of David.*" The genealogy had been already traced.[23]

Yet for all that, is St. Matthew excused for not having adopted a perfect list when one was obtainable? There is nothing to excuse in what is done under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Views to the contrary need to be modified, for an ounce of fact is worth a ton of speculation. The Evangelist realized that the book of his choice reflected closely enough the complete genealogy as found elsewhere; and since they for whom his Gospel was intended, namely, Christian converts from Judaism, would not be over-exacting in the exposition of a truth they had never dreamed of doubting, he deemed it unnecessary to play the critic.

To pave the way for belief in the Virginal Birth which was so dimly yet so unmistakably foreshadowed in the marvellous begetting of Isaac and a royal line by Abraham in his advanced age, it was enough if the "Book of the Generation" were an authentic *reminder* of the Abrahamic and Davidic origin of

[23] Cfr. Lk. ii, 4, and Josephus on the diligence of the Jews in saving their pedigrees.—*Life*, 1; *Apion*, i, 7.

Christ; that is, if it were so constructed that nobody could accept it without making an act of faith in that phase of the Messiahship. The work did not need to *prove* the article of faith directly. It was used rather as a legitimate literary medium deriving its efficiency first, from its more or less general fidelity in mirroring traditional belief; and secondly, from its sources. Inspiration anointed it externally to bear its holy and momentous message down the ages.

In comparing St. Matthew's "Book of the Generation" with St. Luke's list,[24] we find an astonishing diversity of names. Between David and Joseph, the foster-father, the genealogies agree in only two places, namely, at Salathiel and Zorobabel. In the light of the leviratical law, the divergences can be and actually have been explained by Julius Africanus.[25] St. Matthew's "Book" presents the natural lineage, and St. Luke's Gospel the legal. Two anomalies mark the line of descent at Salathiel and Joseph. The origins of both are presumed to have been similar, so that, in comprehending that of Joseph the reader will be in a position to grasp that of Salathiel.

Joseph's mother, Estha, had successively two husbands, Heli and Jacob. The first had died without issue, whereupon the second, Heli's brother (or near of kin), was required to "raise up seed" to the deceased. St. Joseph was the fruit of this union. Yet Heli and Jacob were not brothers german. They had a common mother, but their fathers belonged to different

[24] Lk. III, 23-38. For the historical reliability of the list see Plummer: "It is therefore an empty objection to say that Lk. *could* not have obtained this genealogy from any authentic source . . . . if Herod made the attempt, he did not succeed in destroying even all public records. . . . Throughout his reign he took no precaution against Davidic claimants; and had he been told that a village carpenter was the representative of David's house, he would possibly have treated him as Domitian is said to have treated the grandsons of Judas the brother of the Lord—with supercilious indifference (Eus. H. E., III, 20).—*Intern. Crit. Com.*, St. Luke, p. 102.

[25] Knab. In Luc., p. 175; also, Cornely, *Introd. Gen.*, III, pp. 198-9. This explanation is highly recommended by its antiquity. The alternate solution which sees in one Gospel the pedigree of Mary and in the other that of Joseph is, comparatively speaking, modern and less apt to be historically true. It was first propounded by Annius of Viterbo, about A. D. 1490. See Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

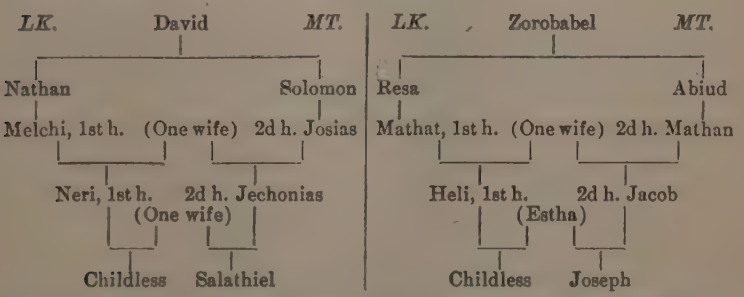
families. For that reason St. Luke's line which runs backwards, through Heli, the legal albeit childless, father, necessarily differs from St. Matthew's which, beginning with Jacob, gives none but the natural progenitors.[26]

Leading up to David from Abraham, the lists harmonize perfectly. Exactly fourteen generations are assigned in each, though the period intervening between the sturdy patriarch and the saintly king is roundly a thousand years. Now if fourteen generations can scarcely span four hundred or six hundred years, can it be hoped that they will suffice for a thousand? St. Luke's list shares in the same shortcomings as St. Matthew's for the periods of the Judges and the sojourn in Egypt. It is worth just what its sources are worth, and these, Ruth and Paralipomenon, are apparently incomplete.

St. Luke does not stop at Abraham. He mounts upwards through Noe and the ante-diluvians to Adam "who was of God." [27] By so doing he may be treated in this study as a stepping-stone to the patriarchial genealogies contained in Genesis. Once they are correctly understood there will be nothing left to explain in St. Luke.

In the Old Testament there are two genealogical tables overtowering all others. The first is embraced in what is styled "*The Book* of the Generation of Adam," [28] and purports to cover

[26] Allen prefers to regard the Matthean genealogy as the legal one (*op. cit.* in note 16 above), but without apparently sufficient reason. Following is the solution offered by Julius Africanus:



Thus Jechonias and Jacob were natural fathers; Neri and Heli legal. Salathiel and Joseph were heirs to Neri and Heli respectively.

[27] Lk. III, 38.

[28] Gen. XI, 10-26.—Holzinger observes that these words read as here

the space between Creation and the Deluge. The second extends from Sem, the son of Noe, to (Abram) Abraham.[29] Although the latter is not designated a "book," it bears the appearance of having been borrowed unchanged from a non-Biblical source. Under the caption, "These are the generations of Sem," it proceeds without interruption to the end, where it is followed by a shorter table with a similar heading, "These are the generations of Thare." It is noteworthy that Thare's immediate family including Abram, which terminates the Sem-table is needlessly repeated at the beginning of the Thare-table, as if two distinct lists already in existence and known by the titles assigned them, had been juxtaposed without alteration. This being true, it follows that the principles involved in the treatment of St. Matthew's defective lists are equally applicable here.

Fixing our eyes on the contents of the "The Book of the Generation of Adam" and the less formally presented "Generations of Sem," we are struck not so much by the individuals themselves as by their astounding longevity. Complications multiply when we examine the three highly discordant channels through which the knowledge comes to us.[30]

To confine ourselves to general results, it may be stated that the period from Adam to the Deluge extended over 1656 years according to the Hebrew, 1307 according to the Samaritan Pentateuch, and 2242 according to the Septuagint. From the Deluge to Abraham, the time is measured at 290, 940, and 1170 (1070) years respectively.

By placing these genealogies in the chronological setting they intrinsically claim, we arrive at the conclusion that the protoparent lived sometime between 4000 and 5000 B. C. Unfortu-

presented, viz., "like the title of a book." His theory is accepted only in so far as it is expressed.—Genesis erklaert.—See Skinner, *ad loc.*, p. 130, *Intern. Crit. Com.*

[29] Gen. XI, 10-26.

[30] For a tabular arrangement of the matter, see Hummelauer, *In Genesim*, pp. 201, 342; Mangenot in Vigouroux, DB. s. v. Chronologie Biblique; Skinner, Genesis, p. 134 ("Holzinger's" table) and p. 233, where a fourth group of dates, those furnished by the Book of Jubilees, is added; Curtis in Hasting's DB. s. v. Chronology of the O. T.

nately for this computation, it has been discovered by Orientalists that the Semites, *as a people*, existed as early as 5000 and perhaps as early as 6000 B. C., at which time they migrated from Mesopotamia and conquered the civilised Sumerians of Babylonia, who themselves had previously penetrated into the land from Central Asia. Furthermore, by 4000 B. C., the two races are known to have been living side by side in Babylonia, while in Egypt, at Memphis and about the mouths of the Nile, were still other distinct pre-historic peoples. If time be allowed for the ethnological, political, linguistic and religious conditions and differences of this remote epoch to develop, the proto-parent is forced back far beyond the earliest period that any Biblical figure will warrant. Is it then reasonable to attach anything approaching historical completeness or accuracy to the lists under discussion?

This is saying nothing of the extraordinary and almost incredible ages of the patriarchs taken individually. Over half of the antediluvians are represented as having outlived 900 years. One life alone falls short of 700. After the Deluge the ages moderate, yet not so as to meet the requirements of contemporary history. If, according to the Sem-list, Sem be the progenitor of all the Semites, and his descendants be the same as the extra-Biblical Semites, then the ten generations between Sem and Abraham must bridge over the centuries beginning before 5000 B. C. and reaching to about 2000 B. C. Even the Deluge would then have to ante-date the traditional date of Creation and 300 years would be the minimum average length of the successive generations. But the Septuagint will not justify anything higher than 135 years as a rule; neither will the Samaritan Pentateuch; while the Hebrew uniformly subtracts a whole century from that allowance, thereby making the age of progenitors range in seven cases out of ten, from twenty-nine to thirty-five years. How astonishingly normal!

Formerly it was alleged that God could prolong human life to a thousand years and beyond, and that in primitive times such an anomaly was called for. Scripture testifies merely that God supplied the demand. Nowadays the subject of controversy is: does the Bible so testify?

The lineal descendants of Sem up to Abraham are presented

to us at a time that can be quite satisfactorily controlled by historians. It was a time during which there was no dearth either of individuals, races or religions; a time in which longevity was neither the rule nor a common exception. Although the same cannot be affirmed of the antediluvians, they are nevertheless imprisoned in such an impervious antiquity that nothing short of miracle could bring it to pass that accounts concerning them would be more authentic than records produced in later historic times.

It has been shown above that genealogies may be doctored and manipulated artificially without that fact interfering with their subsequent introduction into the Bible. Now if such a thing can happen "The Book of the Generation of Jesus," why could it not for a stronger reason have happened "The Book of the Generation of Adam"? Outside the Bible no one would take the Genesiacal genealogies *as they stand* to be rigidly historic, at least in their mathematical calculations. Why should they be taken for such in the Bible? The Inspired Author *used* them it is true, but he *did not compose* them and his character and prestige hinges on his fidelity in reproducing them in their traditional form.

Yet it would be a mistake to place all genealogies in one and the same class. Those preceding Thare and Abraham have evidently a foundation in fact as regards the names, "tongues, families, nations," and occupations enumerated; but the ages, dates and rudimentary mathematics connected therewith are, to say the least, unlikely. Later genealogies are more normal.

To view the primitive genealogies in a theological perspective, they were, under divine guidance, the most natural product of human ingenuity in its efforts to fulfill the high and supernatural mission confided to it in the beginning. Creation by God, the unity of the race, the state of original justice, the first sin and its penalty, the promised restoration of mankind to supremacy over the serpent—all these were facts of undying import that alone could solve the riddle of life and so promote the interests of monotheism. They made men think and believe and be hopeful.

But men were not then what they are now and, as scholastics

pithily express it, "*quidquid recipitur ad modum recipientis recipitur.*" In the uncultured condition of primitive society, even when civilized, truth would hardly have been assimilated in its abstract form. The skeleton had to be filled up with flesh and blood. Truth needed to be handed down from father to son in a popular way. All could realize the reality of Eden's curse, for all, like Adam, were condemned to labor in the sweat of their brows, to gather a few thorns and thistles, and then die. They were truly "his seed." What then was more natural than to remember at least the more important links in the chain of descent from him?

To sum up the results of this study, as related to the canons of the preceding section, the following conclusions are offered:—

1. All Biblical genealogies are historical in form and should therefore be accepted as history in all their parts, until their unhistorical character has been proved. (Canon 5.)

2. The patriarchal genealogies antecedent to Abraham, contain in their present condition many features which appear to be unhistoric. (Canon 1.) Yet that is not sufficient to prove that the personages named therein are not historic. (Canon 4.)

3. Since the genealogy furnished by St. Matthew is artificially arranged in several places, and is thereby rendered proportionately untrustworthy, it follows that the Author Inspiring, namely, the Holy Ghost, did not intend to give in the first Gospel a critically historic list, but one *already in use* which the Evangelist, enlightened by Him, perceived to be sufficient for his purpose. (Canon 2.)

4. It was the intention of the Holy Spirit to certify mankind of the historicity of this genealogy and at the same time of its imperfections through the Old Testament, whose descriptions of the more important progenitors were composed, in many cases, by contemporaries. (Canons 3 and 4.)

THOMAS À K. REILLY, O. P.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FRAY LUÍS DE LEÓN AND HIS PUPILS.

In the ode *" Las Sirenas, á Cherinto "* we have an excellent example of the university poetry of the sixteenth century. Fray Luís de León stands without question at the head of the Salamancan school of poets, which down the ages to almost the present day has ever found distinguished representatives and champions in the literature of Spain. There are greater poems than this among his works,—serene word-carvings in the spirit of the sculptures of the Parthenon,—exquisite lyrics on the delights of contentment and solitude, and the loveliness of nature, songs pure and crystalline as the musical rivulets of Chopin,—penetrating canticles on the profoundest themes of dogma and mystical theology,—splendid pæans to the glory of heroic Spain, to Santiago, the Ascension, the Feast of All Saints, and tender, seraphic praises of the Mother of God.

There are two poems, however, that seem particularly to give voice to the real spirit of Salamanca in her age of gold; *viz.,* " The Sirens, to Cherinto," and " To Juan de Griál." The latter, we are told, was written while Fray Luís lay in the secret prisons at Valladolid, awaiting his acquittal by the Holy Office of the charges against the orthodoxy of his Bible teachings. In its lines he seems to evoke in memory some chill October day after the opening of the schools on the Feast of Saint Luke; on these lofty plains of Castile the night falls swift and frigid, and it is easy to imagine his frail form in his Augustinian habit hastening home to the golden-brown city on the hill above the Tormes River. With the young *licentiado* and poet Juan de Griál, whose name, if we may translate it, can read " John of the Graal," he is apparently returning from some expedition on the plains, and night and the bells of the Angelus have speeded them across the long Roman bridge, and up the steep ascents to the University, or the Monastery of San Agustín.

One catches at once the classic note harmonizing with the poet's direct emotion,—that welding of the personal and the traditional for which Fray Luis is preëminent among the modern poets of all countries. Two of these stanzas may be rendered thus:

> "By dim horizons go the cranes
> Of Ibycus migrating with their cry
> Portentous; now the bullock strains
> Against the yoke his shoulders high,
> And turns the patient furrows to the sky.
>
> To noble studies would the hours,
> Grial, convene us; and the voice of Fame
> Call upward to her sacred towers,—
> Yea, to her summit bid us aim,
> Where never yet the breath of passion came."

The almost Flemish atmosphere of this little etching may not agree with certain preconceived notions of Spanish landscape; but the country surrounding Salamanca, the long stretches of slender poplars following the stream of the Tormes across the otherwise treeless plains, show more of the northern soulfulness of the *primitifs,* than of the romantic splendor of the renaissance.

In the other poem, "The Sirens, to Cherinto," we have what seems a work of earlier composition. Confusion and controversy reign among the Spanish critics regarding the dates of Fray Luís' poems; he himself tells the great churchman Don Pedro Portocarrero, to whom he dedicated them:—"In the course of my studies, from my youth, I may almost say from childhood, I happened to turn off these lighter things, having applied my hand to them rather through the inclination of my stars than of any set purpose or desire,"—a statement that must be modified in the light of certain references in the poems which show that some of them at least could not have been written much before his thirtieth year.

We have also to consider every judgment passed upon the poems of Fray Luís with caution, knowing that they were not printed until forty years after his death, when in 1631 Quevedo

prepared the first edition. Even to-day in spite of the researches of Merino in his *"Obras de Fr. Luís de León"* (Madrid, 1885), and of later scholars like Fray L. G. Alonso Getino, the Dominican, and the late Padre Blanco García of the Augustinians, we are without a definite work such as the latter had projected, but which his untimely death, and that of Menéndez y Pelayo, have indefinitely postponed. That Fray Luís himself was aware of this confusion regarding the authenticity of his poems, we may see in his quaint apology where he writes:—

"But as it sometimes happens that urchins who are strictly treated by their parents or teachers, will make themselves friars, so also these youthful works of mine, being harshly treated by me, betook them likewise to the shelter of religion and assumed a name more honorable than they merited, and in this manner have masqueraded before the public for some time, to the detriment of a monastic person—to whom, because of our close friendship in the past, the authorship of them has been attributed,"—referring, it is said on rather unconvincing evidence, to the great Biblical scholar Arías Montanus (1527-1598).

It would not be altogether presumptuous to classify as earliest among Fray Luís' works those poems that show most clearly the phrasing and turns of thought of the Greek and Latin authors upon whom his style and very manner of feeling were formed. "The Sirens," therefore, for want of other evidence than internal, may be attributed to his early years as professor of the chairs of San Tomás and of Durando. We know, that for all his high appreciation of the Castilian tongue, he could find it *"indecente"* when employed in solemn exercises of the university. It seems to have been easier for him to acknowledge his poems when they were versions out of the classics; but if he treats his own metrical compositions lightly, there is no lack of affection displayed, indeed at times one feels an actual tenderness in his handling of the verse.

A magisterial air accompanies the ready freshness of the classical illusions in "The Sirens," and even though we are

aware that Fray Luís signed himself as instructor in 1550, when in his twenty-second year, a ripeness in the scholarship, and a force, as well as discretion in conveying this poetical warning, inclines one to place its date of authorship between 1566 and 1572. During this period Fray Luís was rector of the *colegio menor* of San Guillermo, an Augustinian academy at Salamanca, although entirely independent of the great monastery of San Agustín where Fray Luís seems always to have made his home.

As to the identity of Cherinto or Asensio, we are also without more precise indication than may be found in the care with which Fray Luís presents his picture of the seductions of the world, so that no aspect of his poem can suggest anything but what will serve his virtuous purpose. Here Fray Luís is not only the poet and professor, but also the director and spiritual adviser of one still in tutelage, for the tone seems too direct to allow of the poem being merely a literary exercise.

It is indeed full of beauties for him who has not forgotten his *Odyssey,* his Vergil, Ovid, and Horace; it might serve for a test of one's taste and reading, and should charm, in spite of the uneven mirror of a translation, the university minds of to-day. How far the world seems fallen from the serene culture of sixteenth century Spain, when we consider the means of edification chosen for his pupils by the sublime author of "The Names of Christ" and the poem on "The Sirens."

THOMAS WALSH.

FRAY LUÍS DE LEÓN OF SALAMANCA, 1528–91, TO HIS PUPIL, CHERINTO, IN WARNING OF "THE SIRENS."

Let not the flagon's golden lip,
Nor aught of fragrant nectar it can bear,
Entice thee to its fatal sip;
Nor in a fluttering bosom e'er,
Cherinto, seek solution of thy care.

Asensio mine, withhold thy hand
Too ardent; see how with the purple rose
And lily where serene they stand,
When touched, their witching beauty goes,
And leaves the soul embittered at the close.

Step warily,—the meadow holds
For all its flowers the serpent's mortal sting;
Where most its loveliness unfolds
There most of caution shouldst thou bring
To avoid the trap and dangers threatening.

Thy bloom of springtime past, the years
Maturing ask of thee some harvest fruit
Of honest glory for their shears;
Alas, then from unclean pursuit
Hold back, and follow but the noble route!

Ere Circe, foul enchantress, gains
Dominion o'er thee, plying thee with wine
That poisons to the very veins,
Till heart and spirit grow malign,
Thou too shalt wallow mid her drove of swine.

Never to him who stays is given
To rise from out the slough of that despair
Save through some grace supreme of heaven;
For there he rages like a bear,
Or like the jackal whines and rends the air.

Nor put thy faith in sages; see
How fared old Solomon the wizard king
Whose might availed him naught; how he
Who could on Gaza ruin bring
Was in a woman's hand so small a thing.

Be that high son of Greece thy guide,
Whose knowing sail would tarry not around
The crags whereon the siren plied
Her wiles to draw him to her bound;
Wherefore the ages with his fame resound.

Melting the sea-winds with her song
She called afar: "Let down that sail of thine
Which through the tempests toils along
The buffet of the wind and brine,—
Ulysses of the Greeks, thou light divine!

"Draw near, and know a brief repose
From thine immortal quest; to hear awhile
The wonders rare my chants disclose,
And with sea-faring tales beguile
The hours, and add new annals to our isle.

"The fullness of all earthly lore
Is ours, and to delight thy ravished ears
Our songs shall tell the bitter war
Of Troy, and her destruction drear
Beneath the High Gods' frown, and Grecian spear."—

Thus her fair welcome, spite her rage
To slay; but with his quickened sail outspread
For home, made off the hero sage,
And o'er the seas undaunted sped,
His ears sealed fast to hear no more she said.

So if to thee she signal, close
Thine eyes discreet; at her first word shut fast
Thine ears to aught she can propose;
And if she pluck the cloak thou hast,
Then fly, since only flight can save at last!

Translation by

THOMAS WALSH.

A NEW ANTHOLOGY.[1]

Can any anthology be entirely satisfactory? If I were making this inquiry in Latin, I should certainly begin it with *Num,* a particle which, as we were taught in the dear dead days beyond recall, always, in direct questions, expects the answer, No. Lest, however, this almost categorical denial should convey any false impression as to the merits of the book now under consideration, I hasten to say that Father O'Neill's *Five Centuries of English Poetry* is, within its limitations, as near to perfection as it is given to man to attain.

I have known some worthy persons who considered that the editing of a collection of English poetry was about the easiest form of literary exercise, and was therefore beneath the dignity of any one who held any office of fairly decent standing in the republic of letters; but for my part I think that the way of the anthologist is hard, that he exercises a function worthy of the highest respect, and that he assumes towards his own and succeeding generations a responsibility calculated to give pause to, if not to strike terror into the heart of, any but the greatly-daring mortal. He—or she, for we have women anthologists, too—who sets out to make a garner of English verse, must needs be guilty of many sins of omission, because of the superabundant amount of material from which selections are to be made and the consequent necessity of more or less arbitrary exclusion; and he may be guilty of sins of commission as well, by circulating what is either suggestive of evil or positively objectionable, for unfortunately some of the greatest English wits are notorious offenders in that respect. As he fares forward in his task, he will be dragged in different directions at the same

[1] *Five Centuries of English Poetry,* by the Rev. George O'Neill, S. J., M. A., Professor of English, University College, Dublin. The Educational Company of Ireland, Limited, Dublin and Belfast; Longmans, Green, and Co., New York. 1912. Pp. xvi + 368. Price 3s./6d.

time, he will be impaled on the horns of many a dilemma, he will be menaced on the one hand by the Scylla of exclusion and on the other by the Charybdis of inclusion, and, rent and torn by conflicting emotions and desires, he will continually find himself between the devil and the deep sea.

"Pity the sorrows of the poor anthologist" might well be laid down, then, as a generous maxim for old and young to observe; but generosity of treatment is what the anthologist seldom experiences. Some critics seem to find an unholy joy in falling upon him tooth and nail and rending him to pieces. One is angered because poet A is represented while poet B is not; another carps at the ridiculous idea of printing a piece of argumentative verse from his favourite author while all his divine lyrics are left out; a third—a regular fierce Oberon passing fell and wrath—laments the decay of æstheticism and the decline of scholarship in this degenerate age, and holds up the unfortunate anthologist as his awful example.

Professor O'Neill was open-eyed to all the dangers that encompassed him round about; and yet with a courage that cannot be highly enough commended he went forward boldly to his self-appointed task. He had many qualities that fitted him finely for its accomplishment. He was armed with the sword of scholarship, the helmet of experience, and the buckler of catholic taste, and, to prick the sides of his intent, he fastened on the dialectic spurs that he had nobly won on other fields. He had also a very definite concept of what he wanted to do. His intention was, not to make a collection of poetry for general reading, not yet to bring together the choicest flowers from the glorious garden over which he was free to range, but to produce a book which should in the first place be helpful to his own students and to students in general, and which should in the second place illustrate successive types of English poetry. And always he had before him that ideal at which every true teacher aims, namely, the attempt not to satiate youthful literary appetite but to increase its keenness and to stimulate it to a discriminating, yet ever-widening range of reading. By showing the example, the good teacher seeks to put the parcel into consumption.

Father O'Neill is no believer in royal roads to scholarship, in machine-simplifications, or in modern devices of learning-made-easy. He rejoices to think that these nineteenth-century ideas are passing away. "Once again, perhaps," he says, "we may find ourselves assured with authority that education cannot profitably be a source of facile absorption, that it must rather mean a straining of mental and moral sinews, a hardening of teeth on intellectual crusts, nay even a discipline in self denial"; and he quotes approvingly Professor Hales's opinion that "the better part may not be won without dust and heat, and there is nothing worthy to be achieved without sincere, undaunted, never-wearying industry."

Father O'Neill's final ideal—and it is his noblest—lies embedded in his belief that the remote and difficult studies, to which he would gently lure his readers on, have the power of developing original gifts. "That they possess this virtue," he affirms, "has been proved by the history of all the Arts. In the primitive, simple, and long-obsolete has repeatedly been found a germinal and stimulating force which is sought for vainly in the highly-developed and modern." This aim of bringing out originality is unfortunately beyond the ken of too many teachers of literature. Hence it is appropriate that it should be once more emphasized, and it augurs well for the future usefulness of the infant university with which Father O'Neill is connected to have one of its principal professors imbued with such lofty conceptions of his calling.

The seventy-six selections, which occupy 238 pages of the volume under notice, run all the way from Chaucer to De Vere, that is, roughly from 1380 to 1850. Father O'Neill defends himself on three main grounds for stopping in the middle of the nineteenth century. His first reason does not seem to me to carry real weight. He says that, if there is any poetry which pupils may be trusted to read for themselves, it is modern lyric poetry. There is much virtue in an "If," and the "If" here is a very big one. My experience may be different from his, but it tells me that the average young student does not take over kindly to any poetry, and is not disposed of his own free

will to give to it much attention. The question is here raised, too, of indiscriminate reading; but that is too big an issue to tackle in the course of one short review. The second reason is far more intelligible. The editor was aiming at cheapness and portability in his book, and he felt that it would be a hopeless overloading of it were he to add even inadequate specimens of the poets that have burgeoned and bloomed since 1850. His final argument on this point, namely, that it seemed just as reasonable to omit everything after 1850 as to omit everything before 1380, will not carry conviction to everybody, for it might with justice be urged that the difficulty of the language in which the works of the earlier period are couched is an effective bar, which does not apply to the productions of the modern muse. For example, it would not be much use to set before an ordinary undergraduate student selections from, say, Layamon's *Brut* or some stanzas from that most delightful product of the Middle Ages, the beautiful poem of *Pearl*. On the other hand, somewhat on the principle that he who pays the piper may call the tune, Father O'Neill was perfectly entitled to end where he did, especially as, by the quotations he has given, he has fully carried out his professed object of illustrating successive types of English poetry.

Of the pieces that are included some have the merit of being unusual and yet typical, others are better known but are none the less typical, and all are selected with great care and acumen and with an eye single to the purpose of the book. I note with special pleasure that Robert Southwell finds his place with his seriously contemplative poem, *Times go by Turns*. I could have wished that room had also been found for Southwell's spiritualized conception of *The Burning Babe*, concerning which William Drummond of Hawthornden tells us that Ben Jonson said that "if he had written that piece, he would have been content to burn many of his own poems." It is a satisfaction, too, to note that Gray is represented, if not by the *Elegy*, at least by that splendid Pindaric ode, *The Progress of Poesy*. Father O'Neill evidently does not hold with an earlier collector that in Gray mediocrity spoke its own true word. Samuel

Johnson is here with his most characteristic piece of verse, *The Vanity of Human Wishes.* Here also we have, in Austin Dobson's *Postscript to Retaliation,* the supposed epitaph which, if Goldsmith had lived to complete his own poem, he might have written on Johnson, and also the stinging and epigrammatic, but little known *Epitaph on Dr. Samuel Johnson,* by Soame Jenyns.[2] Of "prose poetry" we have an example in the opening of Macpherson's *Temora.*

Among the greater names—Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Goldsmith, Cowper, Burns, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Browning, Tennyson—it is refreshing to find that "minor poets" like Gawain Douglas, Herrick, Donne, Wither, Davenant, Lovelace, Crashaw, Prior, Isaac Hawkins Browne, Thomas L. Peacock, William Barnes, Sir Samuel Ferguson, and Arthur Hugh Clough, have not been overlooked or forgotten. Irish writers of English are but sparsely represented. Besides Goldsmith and Ferguson, we find only Moore, Mangan, Davis, and De Vere. America has only two representatives, Poe and Longfellow. Father O'Neill's book, true to the general fate of anthologies, will not satisfy everybody; but, taken all in all, it is a notable collection of English verse.

It remains that I say a few words about the notes. As a rule, Father O'Neill has prefixed to each selection a short foreword which illuminates in a flash the writer or the piece or both. Especially valuable are these little prefaces for the exact way in which they frequently fix an author's relation to his times, and to ancient classical as well as to contemporary domestic and foreign literature. In addition, there are at the

[2] This nearly-forgotten epitaph is so short and terse, and so aptly sums up most of Johnson's characteristics, that, despite its severity, which I do not share, I set it down here:—

> Here lies Sam Johnson: reader, have a care,
> Tread lightly, lest you wake a sleeping bear!
> Religious, moral, generous and humane
> He was; but self-sufficient, proud and vain;
> Fond of, and overbearing in, dispute;
> A Christian and a scholar—but a brute!

end of the book notes covering 130 pages. Here Father O'Neill shows in full measure that deep and careful, and yet wide and comprehensive, scholarship, which is characteristic of those who have gone through the great college in which he was educated and which he now serves and adorns as a professor. They are notes of a helpful and stimulative kind, pointing out to the student the road he ought to follow, and not obscuring any issue by a needless display of erudition or of what Pope called loads of learned lumber. The observations on linguistic points such as intrusive *b* (as in thumb), *h* (as in ghost), or *t* (as in trashtrie); on Chaucer's use of *n* in the infinitive; on such processes of word-building as "immutation," "back-formation," and "contamination"; and on the derivation of words like lodemenage, ches, moich, stovys, drent, herse, lawn, megrim, paetotheke, baws'nt, moudieworts, thole, poind, and nowt (in the sense of "cattle") are always distinctly scholarly. In this section I have noticed a few misprints: δια πέντε, given (p. 260) as the derivation of "diapason," and translated as "through all," is perhaps the most glaring.

It ought not to be necessary to add, but nevertheless, to prevent any possible misunderstanding, I do add, that, from the point of view of what is sometimes loosely called "morality," the selections given are admirable. I have noticed scarcely a line at which the ultra-squeamish might legitimately cavil as being unfit to be submitted *virginibus puerisque*. That, in itself, is no mean achievement.

The book is printed in clear and easily legible type, and is creditably turned out by The Educational Company of Ireland. The handsome symbolic cover-design is the work of the Art Mistress at Loreto College, Rathmines, Dublin.

P. J. Lennox.

Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Lexikon der Pädagogik, In Verein mit Fachmännern u. unter besonderer Mitwirkung von Hofrat Prof. Dr. Otto Willmann herausgegeben von Ernst M. Roloff. Erster Band, *Abbitte* bis *Fortschulen.* Herder, Freiburg u. St. Louis, 1913. Pp. xvii + 1346. Price $3.80 net.

This latest pedagogical publication of the distinguished Catholic firm of Herder should meet with instant and widespread success. It will cover, in five volumes, the whole field of pedagogy, practical, theoretical and historical. The name of the eminent Catholic scholar which appears in the title-page, the list of over two hundred collaborators, among whom we note Baeumker, Gutberlet, Grisar and Baumgartner, the well-deserved reputation of the house of Herder—all these are a sufficient guarantee of thoroughness, scholarliness and practical usefulness. The first volume is an additional pledge that these qualities may be counted on. It is complete as to topics, clear in statement, Catholic in sentiment and doctrine and leaves nothing to be desired in the matter of useful information. The articles are characterized in particular by an up-to-dateness that will be appreciated by the American teacher. For example, that on Chinese Education devotes more than half the available space to a description of the "New Education" inaugurated by Imperial Decree in 1905. It contains, besides, a very useful description of the work done in the mission-schools, both Protestant and Catholic. In general the *Lexikon* seems to treat the *practical,* the *theoretical* and the *historical* phases of pedagogy in the order here given. And, after all, it is in the practical aspect of Education that the teacher is most interested. Of course, there are included in this volume topics which are of more special interest to Germans. That is inevitable. But, until a work of similar scope and of the same degree of scholarliness for American teachers is forthcoming, the Catholic student of pedagogy, if he reads German, should find Herder's *Lexikon* indispensable in his work.

WILLIAM TURNER.

The Romance of Reality, by Margaret Le B. O'Connell. Lancaster, Pa., Press of the New Era Printing Company, 1912. Pp. xxiv + 307.

I have a melancholy pleasure in reviewing this book. One of the most gratifying moments of my life was that in which I stood as godfather for the late Mrs. O'Connell at the baptismal font in St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C., one day in May 1910, when she and her daughter were received by Monsignor Russell into the Catholic Church. I felt that it was surely a triumph for the faith of our fathers that a woman of Mrs. O'Connell's keen and piercing intellect, shaking off the prejudices of early training and abjuring life-long practices, should have found that the road to Rome was for her the sure and safe path to eternal salvation. She was a diligent and earnest seeker after truth, and in the end, through the mysterious workings of divine grace, she had her reward. I went to Europe in the following June, and the day before I sailed she brought me as a souvenir a copy of *The Passion Play at Oberammergau,* by Montrose J. Moses. I set great store by that book now, for never again did I lay eyes on its donor. I was at Harrogate in England when word came that Margaret Le Boutillier O'Connell was no more: she had succumbed in July to a sudden attack of brain fever and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

The world was certainly the poorer. Mrs. O'Connell radiated intellectuality. Rarely gifted as a conversationalist herself, powerful in argument, and brilliant in repartee, she was one of those magnetically sympathetic beings who draw out all that is best from those who surround them. If in your inner consciousness you had even a solitary bon mot, or a hidden streak of philosophy, or a hazy opinion on men, manners, and things, it was sure to issue crystallised into happy phrase under the stimulus of her persuasive if slightly caustic tongue.

As the woman was, so is her book: always bright, and pathetic, humorous, and sarcastic in turn. It is a collection of writings which came from her pen during the course of many years. Many of them originally appeared in the columns of the daily papers or in magazines; others now appear in print for the first time. There are short stories, descriptive sketches, literary and musical criticisms, travel narratives, and accounts of strange happenings and

performances in places as far apart as Rome and Tahiti, San Francisco and Jerusalem, Calcutta and Freiburg.

Altogether it is a very interesting volume, with the short stories forming perhaps the most important part. Imagination, pathos, humour, the writer had in abundance, and in addition her technique was almost flawless. Judicious use of local colour, fertility in inventing dramatic situations, naturalness of dialogue, dexterity in handling details, in a word, admirable constructive skill—these are characteristics that are found in all her short stories. In one or two of them there is a deft introduction of the supernatural and the uncanny. The wonder is that she was not better known. Gifts such as hers at the command of one who had the self-advertising instinct would have made both fame and fortune.

The book is admirably edited by Miss Lilian Margaret O'Connell. It contains a short preface; a dedication; a touching memoir of her mother; and an interesting biographical sketch of her father, who is a retired Brigadier-General of the United States Army, is still happily with us, and figures in these pages as the gallant soldier and able diplomatist which his Irish parentage and birth would naturally connote.

The handsome cover of the volume and its clear type aid its intrinsic merits in recommending it to book-lovers.

P. J. Lennox.

Around the World, by Rev. J. T. Roche, LL. D. New York, P. J. Kennedy and Sons. 1912. Pp. 315.

The preface to this volume informs us that it is a reprint of a series of syndicated letters which appeared in certain Canadian and American newspapers during an extended tour undertaken by the author. From the days of Ohthere and Wulfstan, venturesome voyagers, the record of whose explorations in strange and distant seas was set down in immortal prose by Alfred the Great in his scriptorium at Winchester, down to our own, books of travel have been generally interesting; and Dr. Roche's is no exception to the rule.

Around the World is a record of about eight months' sea and land-faring, from November, 1910 to July, 1911, in the course of which the author visited in turn Wales, England, France, Switz-

erland, Italy, Egypt, Ceylon, India, Burma, Malay, China, Japan, and the Hawaiian Islands. He was more interested in persons than places, but that does not prevent him from giving us really fine descriptions of many of the scenic, architectural, and antiquarian attractions that came within his ken. He is most eloquent when enlarging on the glories of Notre Dame and La Sainte Chapelle in Paris, of Castle Trevan at Lugano, of the Duomo at Milan, of the former Cistercian monastery chapel at San Martino outside Naples, of the imperial palace at Delhi, and of the Taj Mahal at Agra, that wonderful mausoleum erected by Shah Jehan in memory of his wife, which cost $25,000,000 and kept 20,000 men continuously employed for 22 years.

In reality, however, it is the persons he met, the views they vented, and the impressions which Dr. Roche himself gained and took away with him that give his book its abiding interest and value. He was an open-eyed and open-minded traveller, and there is a certain ripeness of philosophy and of experience permeating his *obiter dicta* which give them a special charm. He lets in illuminative sidelights on such widely differing questions as Home Rule for Ireland, Socialism in England, the reasons why the late Cardinal Vaughan was so much misunderstood by the British public and even by his own clergy, social conditions in France, sabotage and strikes, the Roosevelt-Vatican affair, Pius X and Modernism, and the cooking of news from European capitals for consumption in America, and Shintoism and Buddhism. He is not afraid to express his own opinions, even when they run counter to those generally received. For instance, in defiance of all he heard from Englishmen, Germans, and Americans in the Orient, he has nothing but praise for the Japanese; he defends English rule in India; he is in favour of American ship subsidy; he has even a good word for Standard Oil.

Being a priest and imbued with the missionary spirit, Dr. Roche has much to say about the progress of Catholicity in the Far East, and he comes again and again to the important question of the duty of Catholics towards Catholic missions in pagan lands. He found that nearly everywhere in the Orient the great want is men and means, and that bishops and priests there are looking to America for greater assistance in both kinds. Accordingly he advocates the establishment of an American Catholic Society for Foreign Missions. Such an organisation would, he believes, both

vivify faith at home and bring millions of heathen souls into the true fold. His plea was in the nature of a prophecy for already has such a Society been founded.

This noble and inspiring book is dedicated to Mr. Max Pam as "a sympathetic student of the Church's history, a believer in her power to uplift and save society, a life-long advocate of religion in education, an able, upright jurist, a manly man, a faithful friend."

There are several handsome illustrations, and the publishers have done their part in giving the volume a neat and attractive appearance.

P. J. LENNOX.

Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M. A., D. D., and John A. Selbie, M. A., D.D. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912. Vol. V. Pp. xvi + 908.

The Fifth Volume of this important publication is, in point of scholarliness, up to the standard set by its predecessors. It is replete with erudition of the ripest kind in topics archeological, philological and anthropological. It cannot, however, be recommended to the general reader without reserve. The article on "Dress," correlating, as it does, sacerdotal vestments with those aspects of savage adornment which are familiar, as they should be, to ethnologists, is a case in point. Why should the article on "Equiprobabilism" be assigned to Dr. Ehrhardt, of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Paris? Was it to ensure in the article a reference to the "small number of defenders" (of *Christian* morality, we suppose) who are "fighting against the principles and morals of the Jesuits?" The article on "Epistemology" by Dr. Iverach is well done, even if it does include much that belongs rather to the article on "Metaphysics"—if there is to be an article on that topic. The article on "Fasting (Christian)" is full of inaccuracies of detail so far as the practice of the Catholic Church is concerned. Among the names of Catholics who contribute to this Volume we note those of Dr. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford ("Dualism [Iranian]"), Baron Carra de Vaux (Family, Muslim), Father Thurston, S. J. ("Extreme Unction") and Dr. George M. Bolling ("Dreams and Sleep, Vedic").

WILLIAM TURNER.

Pragmatism and its Critics. By Addison Webster Moore, Ph. D., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1912. Pp. ix + 278.

Dr. Moore's volume, has, as he says, for its "proximate cause" a series of "Open Lectures" delivered by him at the University of Chicago in 1908. He claims the attention of the reading public, already well supplied with literature on the newest philosophy, on the strength of the fact that he has described the historical background of pragmatism, emphasized the central rôle of the conception of evolution in the development of pragmatism and described the "social, or, better, the situational," character of consciousness and of thinking. He has, indeed, succeeded in the second of these: he has shown conclusively that Absolute idealism and the Conception of evolution are incompatible, and that the notion of "plasticity" if carried far enough leads to the "situational" character of thought. The chapter on "How Ideas Work" contains the core of pragmatism; the most enlightening chapter in the book is, however, that which gives its title to the volume, "Pragmatism and its Critics." It is just such criticisms as those of Royce, Creighton and Baldwin, which have appeared in periodical publications, that are hard to get at, when one is looking for a presentation of "the other side." We cannot but be grateful to Dr. Moore for having brought them together. There is, however, about the whole treatment of pragmatism, a certain vagueness, equally and impartially shared by monist and pluralist, by Absolutist and pragmaticist, by intellectualist and empiricist. One would often wish that there were more of the scholastic severity of method in the discussion of contemporary problems. We all wish to know what the pragmatist is driving at. We wish to know what fault the realist finds with pragmatism. But it is not in the controversial writings of either that we may hope to find the answers to our questions.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Saint Francis of Assisi: A Biography. By Johannes Jörgenson. Translated from the Danish with the author's sanction by T. O'Conor Sloane, Ph. D. Longmans, Green, and Co. New York, 1912. Large 8°. Pp. xvi + 428.

To condense all that may be said and has been said regarding

St. Francis of Assisi into one volume is a task which has long since passed beyond the bounds of possibility. St. Francis has formed the subject of many monographs on many subjects; his activities have been viewed in many aspects; and the "Franciscan Question" has been complicated by the divergent views of so many different schools of critics that an author is to be congratulated as much for his reticences as for his assertions. It is a pleasure to find a work in which a serious attempt is made at narrating the Saint's life in its entirety rather than in presenting it under some special aspect, sociological, artistic or reformatory. The narrative in this work though chronological is not overloaded with unnecessary detail, and, consists in the presentation of a series of typical events not burdened by a minute account of incident and action. The work is divided into four sections, dealing with four periods in the Saint's life which the author entitles respectively: Francis the Church Builder; Francis the Evangelist; God's Singer; Francis the Hermit. From these we get a picture of the Saint's career and of the remarkable spread of Franciscan ideals in his lifetime, in which the personality of the Poverello is constantly in the foreground. The love and zeal which the author brought to his task makes this picture vivid and convincing.

Besides showing himself thoroughly acquainted with the literature of the subject the author adds a valuable section devoted to the sources and authorities which contains an excellent summary of Franciscan Bibliography. The work of the translator gives evidence of lack of revision. This is especially noticeable in regard to proper names and in the failure to use the conventional and well-established terminology which the English language possesses in the "Franciscan subject." The Index, while extensive, has some notable omissions, *v. g.*, Stigmata. The translation is, however, not to be judged by these slight faults and Doctor Sloane has made a valuable addition to the literature in English on the subject of St. Francis.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

The New Psalter and Its Use. By the Reverend Edward Burton, D. D., and the Reverend Edward Myers, M. A. Longmans, Green, and Co. New York, 1912. 8°. Pp. xii + 258.

History of The Roman Breviary. By Mgr. Pierre Batiffol, Litt. D. Translated by Atwell M. Y. Baylay, M. A. From the third French Edition with a new chapter on the Decree of Pius X. Longmans, Green, and Co. New York, 1912. 8°. Pp. xvi + 341.

The first of these books is preëminently a work on the Rubrics of the Breviary. It deals with the legislation contained in the Apostolic Constitution *Divino Afflatu,* in the Rubrics which accompanied it, and with other subsequent regulations or decrees concerning the new Breviary. "The new Rubrics," the authors say, "are a good specimen of careful legal draughtsmanship, terse yet clear, and with not a word to spare. But the very qualities which recommend them from a technical point of view may render the due appreciation of their contents somewhat difficult to those whose active duties render a careful study of their technicalities impossible."

The second work is preëminently historical. The obligation and character of the canonical hours in all periods of the existence of the Church is dealt with in a manner already familiar to the readers and students of Batiffol, and a supplementary chapter is added on the new legislation in which its history rather than composition is aimed at. One work admirably supplements the other. They do not overlap to any considerable extent, and for those who have not yet familiarized themselves with the new method of reciting the Breviary, or who may desire to follow the genesis of the canonical hours to the present, all necessary information will be found in these two excellent manuals. It is hardly necessary to add that the work of the publisher is of a character commensurate with the importance of the subject and the well-established reputations of the authors.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Ancient Assyria. By C. H. W. Johns, Litt. D., Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1912. 12mo. Pp. 175.

History of Civilization in Palestine. By R. A. S. Macalester, M. A., F. S. A. Cambridge University Press. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1912. 12mo. Pp. 139.

Methodism. By H. B. Workman, D. Litt., Principal of the Westminster Training College. Cambridge University Press. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1912. Pp. 133.

These Essays are published as part of the Series of "Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature," of which upwards of forty have already appeared, about fifty others being in course of preparation. These manuals, which contain material equivalent to an extended article in an encyclopedia, deal either with subjects which are not usually treated in encyclopedias, or with those of general and universal interest in a manner adapted to the needs and capacities of those who have not the means nor the training to consult the writings of specialists. Their importance can best be gauged by the fact that they, rather than more pretentious and technical works, will color popular thought.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Saint Charles Borromée (1538-1594). Par M. Léonce Celier. 1 vol. in-12 de la collection "Les Saints." Victor Lecoffre (J. Gabalda et Cie). Paris, 1912. Pp. xii + 207.

La Bienheureuse Marguerite Marie (1647-1690). Par Mgr. Demimuid. 1 vol. in-12 de la collection "Les Saints." Victor Lecoffre (J. Gabalda et Cie). Paris, 1912. Pp. 232.

An authoritative and exhaustive life of St. Charles Borromeo has yet to be written. An eminently satisfactory, though brief presentation of the career of the great archbishop of Milan is found in the pages of M. Léonce.

Notwithstanding the many treatises on the life of the Blessed

Margaret Mary which are already in existence, this new biography is not at all superfluous, considering the extent to which her name and influence, have aided in spreading devotion to the Sacred Heart.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Cardinal Bourne: A Record of the Sayings and Doings of Francis, Fourth Archbishop of Westminster. Burns and Oates. London, 1912. 12°. Pp. 143.

Lively interest will always centre around the See of Westminster, and its incumbent. This collection of passages from the writings and public utterances of Cardinal Bourne, to which there is prefixed a short biography, is an admirable presentation of his attitude on many subjects of general as well as local significance in the life of the Church.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Uniform State Laws.

The following is a synopsis of the lecture delivered by Walter George Smith, in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall, on Wednesday, November 20th:—

It was one of the declared objects of the American Bar Association, when it was founded in 1878 to promote uniformity of legislation in the United States.

The problem forced upon the commercial and business world by our dual system of government, state and national, had long called for solution. Each state is sovereign in matters of domestic concern, and the Federal courts have their own commercial law, which differs in essential particulars from that of many of the States.

The Convention which framed the constitution of the United States grew out of the inconveniences arising from the divergent law of the different sovereignties. Its adoption still left the States supreme in many respects. As business developed and overleaped State lines, the inconveniences became accentuated. Internal commerce, as has well been said by a student of this subject as early as 1851, is the distinguishing characteristic of our country. Most important is it, therefore, that a contract made in one part should be binding everywhere. But owing to the differing laws of the various State jurisdictions as well as the Federal, in many respects this was not then and is not now the case.

To remedy this state of things there is obviously a choice between methods. One is to amend the Federal Constitution so far as to give the national courts jurisdiction of the subjects upon which diversity exists. The other is to bring about an agreement among the States themselves so that uniformity may take the place of diversity.

Even if the first method were practicable, it would result in adding to the already over-burdened machinery of the national government in a way that would seriously jeopardize our whole plan of government. The constantly minimizing tendency of state jurisdiction would be accentuated to a degree and with results that

would be unsatisfactory and give us probably the worst form of government known among men, a centralized bureaucracy.

It was no doubt with some regard to this consideration that the distinguished lawyers who formed the American Bar Association sought some plan to induce the states by voluntary action to bring about uniformity on those subjects of extra local importance.

In 1889 a committee of the Association was formed to draft uniform laws on marriage and divorce, descent and distribution of property, acknowledgment of deeds and execution and probate of wills. This committee had not begun work, however, before the Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws came into being as the result of an act passed by the Legislature of New York in 1890. This act authorized the Governor to appoint three commissioners, whose duty it was to examine the subjects upon which uniformity was deemed necessary, and to invite the other states of the Union to meet them in convention to draft the necessary acts and submit them for the approval and adoption of the several states. The movement thus begun has so successfully progressed that now all of the states and possessions of the Union are represented in the Conference, either by virtue of legislative action or by the exercise of the discretion of their Governors.

The work of the commission has resulted in the drafting of uniform laws on Negotiable Instruments, Warehouse Receipts, Sales, Transfer of Stock, Bills of Lading, Marriage and Licenses to Marry, Family Desertion, Child Labor, Wills executed without the State, and other subjects of kindred nature. The Conference finding that the Uniform Divorce Act, drafted by the National Divorce Congress in 1906, embodied the principles approved by it and by the American Bar Association, has added this act to the list of those approved by it.

The Commercial Acts have been adopted by many of the states, the Negotiable Instruments Act being now the law in forty of them. The social acts makes less rapid progress, but have been received with favor. The commission has before it tentative drafts of acts on Workmen's Compensation, Partnership, Corporations and other subjects which are in a state of forwardness.

The commission's plan is, therefore, past the experimental stage. It has proceeded on the scheme approved by the American Bar Association in 1886 that "the law itself should be reduced so far as its substantive principles are settled to the form of a statute."

Innovations on existing law have been rarely made, and in the few instances where they have been made, only in response to what was believed to be the best sentiment of the business world.

The English statutes have in some instances formed the basis of the uniform acts. Where authorities have differed, the weight of authority has been followed. Nothing revolutionary has been or is in contemplation. It is gratifying to observe that the acts emanating from the commission, having no greater sanction than their own intrinsic excellence, have commended themselves to the profession and to the various associations of Bankers, Warehousemen, Chambers of Commerce, and other commercial bodies.

The Conference meets annually some days before the sessions of the American Bar Association and keeps in close touch with it. All of its acts have so far been approved by it either actually or in principle, as well as by many of the State Bar Associations. The success of the plan, although it has taken many years to test it, may now be considered assured.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

J. Pierpont Morgan. At the recent meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University of America, the title of *Patron of Arts and Letters* was conferred on J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York, in recognition of his services in the cause of learning.

Patronal Feast of the University. On December 8, Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Patronal Feast of the University, Pontifical High Mass was celebrated in the New Chapel of Gibbons Hall, by His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate, assisted by the students of Divinity Hall. The Sermon was preached by Reverend Edmund T. Shanahan, D. D., professor of Dogmatic Theology. After the Mass the Deans of the various Faculties were entertained at dinner by the Vice-Rector in Divinity Hall.

National Committee of the A. O. H. On Thursday, Dec. 5th, the national committee of the A. O. H., which was holding its annual session in Washington, was entertained at dinner in Caldwell Hall by the Right Reverend Rector. Those present were: Messrs. Regan, National President; McLaughlin, National Vice-President; Sullivan, National Secretary; Foy, Daugherty, Moran, Coyne, Barry, Malone, and the Rev. Fr. McLaughlin.

On the same day, Albert and Gibbons Halls were honored by a visit from the national committee of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the A. O. H. Those visiting the halls were Mrs. Jolly, National President; Mrs. Christy, National Secretary; Mrs. Connolly, National Treasurer; Miss Malia, Past National President; Mrs. McWhorter, Chairman Irish History Committee; Miss Tierney, National Director.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians besides endowing the Chair of Gaelic Languages and Literature, have established five

scholarships at the University. They are held by Messrs. John Phillips, C. J. McWilliams, of New York; Chas. McDonnell, Jas. Woods, of Connecticut, and John C. O'Sullivan, of Chicago. In the same connection it is interesting to note that at the State Convention of the A. O. H. of Illinois, held at Dwight, Ill., in July last, an address was delivered by Mr. John C. O'Sullivan who, as stated, holds the scholarship for that State. The Catholic University, as well as the Ancient Order, looks to these scholars to reflect honor and credit upon both in the quality of their scholarship, and in their capacity as leaders in the larger spheres of life for which such generous measures are calculated to prepare them.

Senior Law Class Dance. The first dancing party of the year was held in McMahon Hall Friday evening, Nov. 29th, under the auspices of the Senior Law class. The large assembly room, tastily decorated for the occasion with banners, pennants, and streamers of crepe paper presented a beautiful appearance. College pennants and banners representing nearly every school of prominence in the country, were in evidence and the pillars and lights were adorned in the class colors of purple and gold. The affair was largely attended by the students and their friends, and was undoubtedly one of the social successes of the University. The music was exceptionally good, under the supervision of "our" college orchestra leader, Chas. McDonald.

The members of the class who conducted the dance are Wm. C. Walsh, John T. Clancy, V. P. Dooley, J. A. Gallagher, S. R. Greene, A. J. Hackman, J. A. Helldorfer, H. P. Kerner, C. J. McWilliams, T. B. Ryan, and Julius J. Weber.